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MEMORANDUM ON SOME OF THE RESULTS OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

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B. B. R. A. S.

BOMBAY BRANCH
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EAST INDIA (FIFTY YEARS ADMINISTRATION).

MEMORANDUM

ON

SOME OF THE RESULTS

OF

INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

DURING THE

PAST FIFTY YEARS

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.

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MEMORANDUM on some of the Results of Indian Administration during the past Fifty Years of British Rule in India.

In 1889 a Memorandum was prepared under the instructions of the Secretary of State for India on some of the results of Indian Administration during the thirty years that had then elapsed since India came under the direct control of the Crown. The Memorandum has now been revised and brought up to date by inclusion of the events and changes of the past twenty years. In its revised form it covers a period of fifty years.

2. *Preliminary.*—At the outset it may be well to refer to the fact—long recognised by the Home and the Indian Governments—that India is not a single country with a homogeneous population. India is in truth a congeries of countries, with widely differing physical characteristics. It contains a number of peoples, speaking many languages, holding many creeds, observing different customs, and enjoying divergent degrees of civilisation. It is difficult, therefore, to speak correctly of India as a whole, and statements that may be quite applicable to some provinces do not apply to other provinces or sections of the country.

At the beginning of 1858 the Indian Government had to face the administrative, financial, and military troubles that resulted from the mutiny of the Bengal Army. In 1878–80 occurred the Afghan war; in 1885–86 came the third Burmese war. In 1897 a succession of tribal risings on the north-west frontier culminated in the Tirah campaign. In 1904 trouble occurred with Tibet; and minor expeditions have from time to time been undertaken against tribes that harassed the north-west or the north-east frontier of India. But, on the whole, the past 50 years have been free from internal troubles and have been less disturbed by external war than any previous period of equal length during British dominion in India; and the Government have been able to direct their attention to the measures of progress and works of improvement that have characterized the administration of India under the Crown. Since the changes and revisions of jurisdiction effected soon after the mutiny, the only additional territories that have been added to British India during the past 50 years have been a narrow strip of land at the foot of the Bhutan hills; the districts of Peshin and Sibi acquired after the Afghan war, and the kingdom of Mandalay, now forming Upper Burma. The province of Berar, though not forming part of British India, has been leased in perpetuity from the Nizam of Hyderabad. Quetta and some neighbouring tracts have been similarly leased from the Khan of Kalat, and by agreement with the tribesmen the Indian Government exercise limited powers of administration in certain areas of tribal territory adjoining the frontier districts of British India. With the exception of the petty State of Peint, no territory has been annexed, or has lapsed to the paramount Power, from any Native State in the interior of India; while the province of Mysore, with a larger population and revenue than belong to all the new territories put together—a province which had been under British administration for 50 years—was restored to a Native Prince of the old ruling family. The pressure of scarcity or famine was felt in 1860 over northern India, in 1866 over Orissa, in 1869 and 1874 over parts of Bengal and Behar, and in 1877 over southern India. The famine of 1877 was the severest and most far-reaching Indian famine with which British administration had up to then had to deal, the successive failures of crop were as complete, and the area affected was far greater than in the drought and floods of 1769, when one-fourth to one-third of the population of northern Bengal was swept away. After an interval of 19 years, marked by generally abundant rainfall and regular seasons, severe droughts, rivalling in intensity and extent the drought of 1877, afflicted large portions of the continent in 1896 and 1899. In 1907 a severe though less extended drought visited northern India, and has but lately passed away.

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ADMINISTRATION.

3. *Constitution of the Government.*—Before the year 1858 the affairs of the East India Company had been managed in England by the Court of Directors, subject to the supreme authority of the Board of Control. In that year the dual Government ceased, and the control of Indian affairs was vested in a Secretary of State, responsible to Parliament and assisted by a Council of persons versed in Indian affairs. In 1861 the legislatures of India were established on a new and broader footing, and in 1892 they were enlarged, the elective element being recognised, and provision made for interpellation and discussion of the budget. A great advance on the constitutional position assigned to the Councils in 1892 has now been sanctioned by Parliament. By the Indian Councils Act of 1909 the number of members in the Imperial Council and in the Provincial Councils has been more than doubled, and by regulations to be made under the Act the unofficial element will be largely increased, fuller play given to the elective principle, and more extended powers vested in the Councils to consider and discuss the finances and administrative questions, and to express their opinion thereon in the form of resolutions. Changes have also been made in the fifty years in the constitution of the Supreme Government of India and in that of the Local Governments. The Viceroy's Executive Council, which in 1858 consisted of four ordinary members and the Commander-in-Chief, now contains five ordinary members, of whom one is in charge of the finances. Before the Mutiny the Council worked as a collective board; now it conducts its business on the lines of a modern Cabinet. Each member has charge of a department or portfolio, while the Viceroy controls all departments, and himself usually takes charge of the Foreign department; in this way a great number of questions are decided by the responsible member of the Government and the Viceroy, while the full Council has to consider only the more important matters. The Punjab, Burma, Eastern Bengal and Assam, have been formed into Lieutenant-Governorships, and the districts on the North-West Frontier into a Chief Commissionership. The province of Oudh, after being administered for 20 years by a Chief Commissioner, is now united to the adjoining province of Agra, and the two constitute a Lieutenant-Governorship under the designation of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. In order to transact the greatly increasing business of the country, larger powers have been conferred upon Local Governments, and much public duty has been delegated to local bodies. Further changes in the same direction have been recommended by the Royal Commission upon Decentralisation in India in the report which has lately been presented to Parliament.

4. *Information about India.*—The basis of all good government, more especially in a country subject to foreign rule, must be full and correct information about the condition and surroundings and wants of the people. Before 1857 there had been much investigation of Indian questions, and great stores of information, some of it very valuable and interesting, had been amassed. But during the past 50 years further knowledge has been gained, which in variety, in detail, and in accessibility far exceeds the results of previous investigations. The work of the trigonometrical, topographical, cadastral, geological, and archæological surveys can scarcely be said to have been begun in 1857; these surveys have now been more or less carried over the whole of continental India, and the additional information gained has been great and varied.

There had been countings of the people in their villages at different times in several provinces, and a regular census of the English type had been taken in what is now the Agra Province and in the Punjab; but no census had been attempted in other provinces. The first simultaneous census of the Indian Empire was taken in 1871, and a second complete census was effected, after careful preparation, in the year 1881; on the latter occasion most of the Native States also took a census of their population. Subsequent and still more complete censuses were taken in 1891 and 1901. The Government and the public now possess complete statistics concerning the number of the people, their distribution over different parts of the country, their physical disabilities, and their migrations. Some conception of the improvement in

information on these topics may be gathered from the fact that previous to 1871 the population of Bengal had been variously stated in official reports at 38 to 42 millions, whereas the census of 1871 showed the population of Bengal to be 67 millions; or to take a smaller tract, the population of the district of Tirhoot had been returned in 1870 at 1½ millions, whereas the census of 1871 showed the population of Tirhoot to be close upon 4½ millions. The subsequent and more careful census of 1881 showed that the enumeration of 1871 had not exceeded the truth.

During the years 1865 to 1880 a careful historical and statistical account was compiled and published for every district in India and for many of the Native States; on these accounts and on other information was based "the Imperial Gazetteer of India," a most admirable and useful work, compiled by the late Sir William Hunter, which has been recently republished in a revised and greatly extended form. A regular system has been established, and is maintained, of registering trade across the sea and land frontiers of India, and on the chief internal traffic routes; of observing the movement of prices at some hundreds of marts; of registering the rainfall and other meteorological phenomena at several stations in every province; of ascertaining from week to week the condition and prospects of the crops in every district; of registering births and deaths, and recording the results of epidemic and epizootic disease over the greater part of India. The results of all these observations and registrations are published either weekly or monthly; and there is thus given to the public, to traders, and to the Government early and accurate information of much practical value, which was not available in any shape fifty years ago.

5. *Employment of Indians in the Public Service.*—In pursuance of the policy announced in Her Majesty's proclamation of November 1858, in accordance with Acts of Parliament, and in fulfilment of the just aspirations of the educated and leading classes, much effort has been made to associate natives of India with the government of their own country. In the Council of the Secretary of State for India two Indian gentlemen hold seats. In the Viceroy's Executive Council the Law Member is a distinguished Indian lawyer, who had previously held the important post of Advocate-General of Bengal. The unofficial members of the Legislative Councils are for the most part Indian gentlemen, who by the system of election pursued are representatives of local bodies or other definite sections of the community. The highest judicial tribunals in India are the High Courts at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Allahabad, the Chief Courts at Lahore and Rangoon, and the Judicial Commissioners' Courts in the minor provinces. Eleven Indians now occupy seats in the four High Courts, and four are judges in the Chief Court of the Punjab and the Judicial Commissioners' Courts elsewhere. The superior officers of the civil administration are drawn chiefly from the Civil Service of India, which consisted, in January 1909, of 1,244 persons, of whom 65 were Indians. Fifty years ago there were no Indians on the Bench of any Supreme or Chief Court, or in the Legislative Council, or in the Civil Service.

Some further explanation is required in regard to the Civil Service of India, the main instrument through which the administration of the country in its superior offices, is carried on. The total strength of 1,244 just mentioned, when divided over the total population of British India, 232,000,000, gives a very small proportion of representatives of European administrative power to the needs of the country. But the proportion is in reality much smaller than appears from this figure. There are certain offices—at present amounting to 661—which are classed as superior appointments reserved for the Civil Service of India; besides these 26 represent temporary appointments and occasional deputations, making 687 in all. In order to fill these superior appointments it is necessary to provide a supply of officers in training in inferior posts, and for this purpose 268 posts are provided. The total number of cadre posts is thus 955. The difference between this number and the total strength of the service represents the necessary allowance for leave vacancies (always large when the exhausting nature of the duties in a tropical climate is considered), and for men of the first and second years of service, during which an officer is considered to be in training and not fully competent to occupy a cadre post.

In 1886 a strong Commission was appointed by Lord Dufferin's Government to consider the question of the further employment of Indians in the superior administrative grades of the public service. The result of their deliberations, to which effect was given in 1891, was to mark off in the cadre of the Civil Service of India, as then constituted, a considerable number of offices, to place them on a separate list, under the designation of "listed posts," and to declare them open to the Provincial Civil Service, the great body of public servants of Indian race or domicile through whom the detailed work of administration is carried on. Up to the present 51 superior offices have been listed, and are held by officers of the Provincial Civil Service. They are consequently excluded from the 661 posts mentioned above as reserved for the Civil Service of India. They include 17 headships of districts and 26 district and sessions judgeships, all posts of the highest importance. The number of "listed posts" is gradually being increased, as opportunity occurs.

The Provincial Civil Service in 1908 comprised 2,263 subordinate judges and magistrates; of these 2,067 were natives of India, and of the remaining 196 the greater number were Eurasians or domiciled Europeans. With the development of the country the administrative staff has greatly increased. These new posts have fallen in the great majority of cases to inhabitants of the country. Except in the highest branches of control the proportion of Europeans has been reduced until their numbers have become relatively insignificant. This change has been largely brought about by a rule adopted in 1879 that appointments made in India carrying a salary of Rs. 200 a month and upwards should ordinarily be reserved for natives of the country, and that no appointment might be made in contravention of the rule without special sanction. While Europeans have thus been excluded from all posts except those specially reserved to them, Indians, as already pointed out, have been admitted to a very considerable share in the higher offices. They manage by far the greater part of the business connected with all branches of the revenue, and with the multifarious interests in land. They dispose of the greater part of the magisterial work. The duties of the Civil Courts, excepting the Courts of appeal, are almost entirely entrusted to Indian judges. It has been stated on good authority that, with possibly the exception of England, in no country in Europe are the salaries of judicial and executive officers equal to those received by members of the Provincial Civil Service.

6. *Decentralization*—The past fifty years have brought a great increase in the multifarious duties devolving upon the Governments and their officers in India. Probably the administrative, judicial, revenue, and executive business to be performed has more than doubled. The due transaction of these affairs has required, and will continue to require in an increasing degree, the delegation of power and responsibility by the Supreme Government to Local Governments, and by Local Governments to subordinate authorities. Much has already been done in this direction, by the enlargement of the financial powers of the Local Governments and by the creation of municipal and other local bodies. Litigation has been kept within bounds by restricting second appeals, and by barring all appeal in petty criminal cases and in civil suits concerning moveable property of small value when such suits are decided by selected Judges. A large quantity of magisterial business has been entrusted to Indian honorary magistrates, whose judgments on the whole give popular satisfaction; while the management of local roads, streets, hospitals, schools, and other improvements has been made over to local bodies, constituted under legislative enactments. There is scope for further progress in the same direction, especially in the development of genuine self-government by local bodies. In this way alone the vastly increased work of the country can be done without material addition to the strength or cost of the superior Civil Service, and with more satisfaction to the influential classes, who thus find themselves admitted to an increasingly larger share in the government of their own country.

Legislation.

7. The Indian Legislatures, as they now exist, are the creation of two Acts of Parliament (the India Councils Acts) passed in 1861 and 1892. These

Acts have now been modified by the Indian Councils Act of 1909, to which reference has already been made. The constitution of these bodies has hitherto been such as to secure to the Government a majority. It has now been decided to dispense with an official majority in the enlarged Provincial Councils, while retaining it in the Imperial Council. The influence of these councils and the interest attaching to their proceedings have greatly grown since they were first constituted. Their procedure secures free expression for the views of the non-official community, not only on particular measures of legislation, but also, in the course of the annual discussion of the financial statement, on the general state of the country or of the province. The Councils in their re-constituted form will excite still wider and keener interest, as they will effectually associate the people with the Government in legislation and in the actual work of administration.

The Codes.—Concerning the general character of Indian legislation, the the authority of Sir Henry Maine may be cited :—"The progress of India in "the simplification and intelligible statement of law has been greater than "that of any western country, except perhaps the German Empire. . . . "Down to a comparatively recent date, the influence of courts of justice for "good in India was much diminished by the nature of the law which they "administered, and of the procedure which they were compelled to follow. " . . . British India is now in possession of a set of codes which approach "the highest standard of excellence which this species of legislation has "reached. . . . In force, intelligibility, and in comprehensiveness the "Indian codes stand against all competition. These codes are wholly the "growth of the period during which India has been governed by "the Crown. . . . British India has a penal code and codes "of criminal and civil procedure. It has a code of substantive civil law. "British India has . . . thus become one of the few countries " . . . in which a man of moderate intelligence, who can read, "may learn on any point emerging in practical life what is the law "which should regulate his conduct."

8. *Other Laws.*—Not only have codes of general operation, like those mentioned in the foregoing quotation, and like the Evidence Act, been enacted; but the revenue laws, the forest laws, laws concerning tenant-right and other rights in land, and laws relating to municipal and local self-government, harbour trusts, paper currency, and such like subjects have all been enacted or revised during the last fifty years. By such laws as the Indian Christian Marriage Act, the special Marriage Acts for the Parsi and Muhammadan communities, the Criminal Tribes Act, and the Act for the prevention of the murder of female infants, remedies have been applied to disabilities and evils that have come to light. Periodical additions to or revisions of the great codes have been enacted so as to bring the law into harmony with the growing needs of the community, and to prevent excessive accumulation of case law; while Acts have been passed for the repeal of obsolete enactments, so as to prevent the undue burdening of the statute book. Projects of law are published and discussed in English and in the vernacular languages for months, sometimes even for years, before they are passed into law, and advice is sought from all provinces, classes, and races interested. All opinions or suggestions are considered by Committees nominated by the Councils, and no effort is spared to exhaust every source of information or opinion. When a Bill becomes law, it is usually published in English and in the vernaculars for some time before it comes into force. An enactment of universal operation like the Penal Code is published at a cheap rate in about 15 different vernacular languages, and the annual issue runs into thousands of copies.

9. *Legislation for special tracts.*—Round the frontiers of India, and in some of the hilly regions of the interior, are races and tribes who in civilization and civic progress are far behind the majority of their fellow-subjects, and some of whom still observe customs that are plainly irrational and immoral. To such peoples the body of Indian statute law cannot usefully be applied; and so by an Act of Parliament passed in 1870, power was given to the Government of India to enact regulations for regions to which the

Secretary of State might make that Act applicable. A list of "Scheduled Districts" brought under that Act was published in 1874, and as occasion arose other tracts have been similarly treated. A limited number of regulations have been passed under these powers, such as the Frontier Regulation for Assam, and the Frontier Crimes Regulation of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, whereby crimes arising out of tribal feuds and vendettas in the border districts can be referred for trial and sentence to a council of tribal elders. In many cases the regulations make parts of the ordinary Indian law applicable to the special tract concerned, with reservations and exceptions suitable to the condition of the country. This course has been largely followed in the Upper Burma regulations.

Justice and Police.

10. *Indian Judges and Magistrates.*—The improvement that has taken place in the administration of justice is partly due to the simplification and codification of the law. Another important factor in this improvement has been the advance made by the great majority of Indian Judges and Magistrates in education, in legal training, and in uprightness of character. Nine-tenths of the original civil suits, and more than three-quarters of the magisterial business of the country, come before Indian Judges and Magistrates. Fifty years ago few of these officers knew English, none of them had obtained a University degree, and hardly any had enjoyed any legal training. At the present time Civil Judges know English as a matter of course, and many are University graduates in arts or law, while in most provinces all salaried magistrates appointed in recent years are men of education. The average salaries paid to Indian Judges and Magistrates have everywhere increased; in some provinces they are double what they were 50 years ago. They compare favourably with the scale of official salaries in Continental Europe. With the improvement in education and in salary has come a much higher standard of probity and sense of duty. In old days public officers of this class were often accused or suspected of corrupt motives. At the present time, such accusations against these officers are rare.

Not only has there been great improvement in character and attainments in these branches of the public service but a large number of Indian gentlemen in most provinces have evinced their fitness for employment as honorary magistrates. Fifty years ago an honorary magistrate here or there discharged a little judicial business; last year there were more than 3,000 honorary magistrates, who deal with a great quantity of petty magisterial business in towns and rural tracts; their decisions give satisfaction in the main; their procedure is fairly correct, and many of them take real interest in their public duties.

11. *Judicial machinery.*—Fifty years ago there were two superior Courts sitting in each Presidency capital, a Supreme Court and a Sudder (or Central) Court. The Supreme Courts had no appellate powers, but exercised original jurisdiction over residents in the three Presidency towns, and, in certain cases, over European British subjects outside those limits. The Sudder Courts had no original jurisdiction, but were the highest Indian Courts of Appeal from local tribunals throughout the country beyond the limits of the three Presidency towns; and they also exercised general powers of supervision over those local tribunals. Under the present system each province has one High Court, Chief Court, or Judicial Commissioner, with complete jurisdiction over the province, and full control over all Courts, criminal and civil. All civil suits and important criminal trials are now, save in a few exceptional districts, in the hands of special judicial officers, who have no direct concern with the executive administration or the police work of the country. Burma is now the only large province in which the administration of civil justice, and the trial of important criminal cases, are still to some extent in the hands of officers who are also charged with the executive, police, and revenue work of the country. Minor criminal cases are still tried in all provinces by officers who exercise executive and revenue

functions, and the District Magistrate is everywhere, outside the Presidency towns, responsible for the police, revenue, and executive business of his district, as well as for the control of all subordinate magistrates within his jurisdiction. This union of judicial and executive functions has existed from time immemorial in the East, and in a certain stage of civilisation has advantages. It has also the merit of superior economy. Where unity of control is necessary for the maintenance of order, the existing system will probably continue for many years to come; and elsewhere financial considerations may impede the creation of a stipendiary magistracy apart from the executive staff.

12. *Civil Litigation.*—The extension of trade, the simplification of procedure, the increased promptitude in the action of the Civil Courts, the improved *personnel* of the Courts, and the establishment of additional tribunals have resulted in a great increase of the business coming before the Civil Courts. Approximately there were in 1856 about 730,000 civil suits instituted in British India, while in 1907 the number was 1,867,995. To deal with this increased business the number of Indian Civil Judges has been increased in all provinces. There is now little room for further improvement in the promptitude and regularity with which the Courts in most provinces act. Their action, in fact, has been too effective in the frequent case in which the debtor is an ignorant and improvident agriculturist, and the creditor a money-lender striving to enforce usurious claims against the debtor's land. Of late years the Legislatures have been concerned with the protection of the agricultural classes from the effects of indebtedness, and in the Punjab and elsewhere have placed restrictions on the sale of land by private transfer or in execution of decree. Special enactments have also been passed for the relief and protection, in other respects, of encumbered landholders and indebted petty proprietors in nearly every province, with results highly beneficial to many old families and multitudes of petty landholders.

13. *Police.*—The Police Department is still, as heretofore, a weak point in the administration. Many circumstances contributed to prevent it sharing in the advance which other departments of the public service have made during the last generation. Uncongenial work, indifferent pay and prospects, and other incommodities narrowed the field of recruiting, and the force, in numbers, training, intelligence and morale, became to an increasing degree unequal to the requirements of a progressive country. Its defects in these and other respects were forcibly described by the Police Commission which reported in 1904, and proposed a large scheme of reforms at a cost of over one million sterling a year. Effect is now being given to their recommendations. But, notwithstanding admitted defects, the police system and practice have undoubtedly made considerable advance during the past fifty years. The Criminal Procedure Code carefully defines the powers of the several grades of police officers, and narrowly restricts the circumstances under which the police can arrest and the time for which they may detain suspected persons without bringing them before a magistrate. The organization and discipline of the force are carefully provided for by law, and since 1861 there has been in every district in India a chief police officer who is separate from the judicial staff, and who, subject to the control of the District Magistrate, directs and manages the police and their work throughout the district. Before 1861 the police were directly under the magistrates who tried cases brought before them by the police. Under the organization of 1861 material improvements were made in the status, the wages, the education, the discipline, and the behaviour of the force. In every province the position of the indigenous village watchman has been improved, his duties are defined, and regular remuneration has been secured to him; this has been done by laws which as far as possible leave the village policeman a member and a servant of the village community, subject to the legitimate control of the village elders. In cities and towns the urban watchmen have been incorporated under the Police Act, and formed into town police with duties confined to their respective towns. One of the difficulties in the way of reform is that the bulk of the people are as yet in imperfect sympathy with the police; though

in time of trouble, and at seasons when extreme pressure falls upon the local force, respectable townspeople and villagers accept and faithfully discharge the duties of special constables without pay or reward. The sanitary and other municipal regulations, the Excise, Forest, and Infanticide Acts, and other special laws have also laid upon the police many duties which were unknown thirty years ago. Railways, too, have made it easier for robber gangs to travel long distances to and from the scenes of their crimes, and have given rise to new forms of robbery. Gang robbery of the old Indian type has greatly abated everywhere during the past fifty years. But against cattle theft, housebreaking, and simple theft the police are only moderately successful, and these crimes are not diminishing. Much of the housebreaking, house trespass, and theft is of a very petty kind; and in petty cases sufferers are allowed to choose whether they will or will not invoke police aid. Often a sufferer prefers to accept a small loss rather than incur the journeys and loss of time inseparable from a police prosecution.

14. *Criminal Courts.*—The number of Criminal Courts (in most of which the presiding Magistrates are Indians) has considerably increased, and sufferers have to travel shorter distances to seek relief from wrong. The Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code have made the law clear in criminal matters; the working of the subordinate Courts has much improved under the constant supervision of the superior tribunals; and criminal justice is now administered more promptly than was usual in 1856. An important factor in the improvement of both Civil and Criminal Courts has been the advance in education, which has resulted everywhere in a better, more educated, and more trustworthy class of Indian advocates, whose influence is felt by the Courts, and from whose ranks the Indian Judges are often recruited. Ever since 1861 the law has required that sessions trials shall be conducted with the aid of either assessors (who assist but do not bind the judge) or juries. It is not always possible to empanel an efficient jury in the country districts, and the law leaves it to the Local Government to prescribe the jury or the assessor system as it thinks fit. In the older and more advanced provinces the jury system is extensively used. The results of criminal trials and appeals are fairly satisfactory and are improving. The average length of criminal sentences has decreased, and the average amount of fines has fallen, while the proportion of fines realized to the total fines imposed has largely increased.

15. *Jails.*—During the fifty years a vast improvement has taken place in Indian jails. The early Indian jail system was insanitary, demoralising, and non-deterrent. From time to time the position has been exhaustively examined by special Commissions, their recommendations have been the subject of legislation, and have been brought into operation by the Local Governments under the close supervision of the Supreme Government. In 1894 a Prisons Act for the whole of India was enacted by the Viceroy's Legislative Council, which took the place of the several provincial laws then in force, and thereby secured uniformity, so far as possible, in the matter of jail rules and discipline. In every province central jails for long term prisoners, district jails for short term prisoners, and lock-ups for persons under detention pending trial have long been established; while Port Blair, in the Andaman islands, is constituted a penal settlement with ample staff for the safe custody, employment, and care of all convicts under sentence of transportation. All new jails are constructed on the separate cell system, and sanitary and other improvements are year by year made in the older jails. Prison scales of diet have been revised; hospitals and appliances for employing prisoners healthfully and to advantage have been greatly improved; a regular good conduct system has been introduced; and in most provinces reformatories for the reception of juvenile offenders have been established. The result of these measures has been that much better discipline has been maintained in prisons; escapes from prison and risings in jails are comparatively rare; though each prisoner costs more than he did thirty years ago, yet he now earns more by his labour in jail; and the death-rate in Indian prisons came down to 18 per mille in 1907 as compared with a prisons death-rate of 55 per mille in 1880, and as compared with 90 per mille, which was the average

of the death-rates of eight provinces in 1863, the earliest year for which complete statistics are available. Of late the number of prisoners punished with whipping has been greatly reduced; in 1879 there were 21,933 prisoners whipped for breach of jail regulations, while in the year 1907 only 658 were whipped. Relative to the population of the country there has been a decrease in the total number of prisoners confined in Indian jails; the daily average number was 97,000 during the last four years as compared with 121,000 in the year 1878, after the great famine of southern India. These figures are exclusive of about fourteen thousand convicts under transportation at the Andamans, a considerable proportion of whom are now on ticket of leave, and maintain themselves by free labour at the settlement.

Land Revenue and Surveys.

16. *Land Revenue.*—The land revenue system and the laws regarding land tenures closely concern the welfare and the interests of the mass of the population of India. During the past fifty years revised settlements of the land revenue demand have been made for long terms of years, on moderate and equitable principles, over nearly the whole of India outside the permanently settled districts. At these settlements there have been made careful surveys of all holdings and records of all rights in the land. The periodical settlements of the land revenue used to occupy from four to ten years in each district, and to cost Rs. 400 per square mile, while they involved considerable harassment to the people. Now, by reason of the care taken in maintaining the village records, and in consequence of improved processes, the resettlement of a district occupies from one to three years, costs Rs. 100 per square mile, and involves comparatively little harassment to the people. Since 1856 the cultivated area has more than doubled in thinly peopled tracts like Burma and Assam; it has increased by 30 to 60 per cent. in the Central Provinces, Berar, and parts of Bombay; even in the thickly peopled province of Oudh it has increased 30 per cent. In the Punjab and Sind great tracts of once barren land have been brought under tillage by means of State canals. The extension of railways and roads has provided outlets for surplus agricultural produce, and has caused a general rise of prices in remote districts that were absolutely landlocked fifty years ago. New staples, such as jute, tea, coffee, and ground-nut, have been largely grown for export, while the exports of rice, wheat, cotton, and oilseeds have greatly increased. In this way vast sums of money have reached the agricultural classes, who have been able to raise their standard of living and to pay their land revenue more easily than before. Imprisonment, sales of land outside the permanently settled districts, and other harsh processes for the recovery of arrears of revenue, are now comparatively rare, and at the same time the land revenue is paid punctually. The total increase in the gross land revenue during the past fifty years has been 60 per cent., measured in rupees; though, as the gold value of the rupee has fallen from 24*d.* to 16*d.*, the increase, if measured in gold, is less than 6 per cent. Taking the increase at 60 per cent., it has been concurrent with a very much greater increase in the value of the gross agricultural yield in consequence of the extension of cultivation, of the rise in prices, of increased irrigation facilities, and of the introduction of new staples. For instance, in the Punjab the amount of the land revenue, stated in rupees, has increased by 80 per cent. in the 50 years. But as the cultivated area has increased by 100 per cent., the assessment per acre is actually diminished. As wheat has risen in value by 100 per cent., a given money assessment now represents a very much smaller portion of the produce than in 1858. The famous land settlement of Hindustan made by the Emperor Akbar was based on one-third of the gross produce of each field. The present assessments of the Punjab represent from $\frac{1}{10}$th to $\frac{1}{14}$th of the gross produce. Eighty years purchase of the land revenue is a common price for land in that province.

In British India at large the present land revenue represents an average charge of less than 2*s.* per acre of the cultivated area. In the year 1856 the land revenue was above one half of the total public income of the country; now it is less than one-fourth. The basis of the public income

is broader than it was, while, as above explained, the land revenue assessments represent a smaller portion of the produce of the soil than was formerly the case.

17. *Tenant-right.*—By the ancient custom of India the occupiers of the soil had the right to retain their holdings, so long as they paid the rent or revenue demandable from them. In southern India, where most of the land is held by petty occupiers direct from the State, this custom has been respected from the beginning of British rule; and in both the permanently and temporarily settled districts of northern India a considerable degree of protection has now been given to the tenants or ryots. Up to 1859 tenant-right had not been adequately safeguarded by law, and for the great Province of Bengal the Court of Directors reported in 1858 that "the rights of the "Bengal ryots had passed away *sub silentio*, and they had become, to all "intents and purposes, tenants-at-will." Since 1858 laws have been passed which make the petty occupiers of Madras, Bombay, Burma, and Assam proprietors of their holdings, subject to the payment of a moderate land revenue; and the petty proprietors are protected against future enhancements of land revenue on account of improvements effected by themselves. For nearly every other province in India laws have been passed securing tenant-right to all occupiers of any standing, prohibiting eviction or enhancement of rent save by consent or by decree of Court on good cause shown, and granting the ryots power to bequeath or sell their tenant-right.

The extent and character of the tenant-right declared or created by these laws vary in the different provinces; tenant-right is strongest in the Central Provinces, where the old land tenures were not very unlike the petty proprietorships of Bombay; it is less important in the Punjab, where the bulk of the land is occupied by proprietary brotherhoods, and the holdings of rent paying tenants are comparatively small, and it is weak in Oudh, where the position of the talukdars or superior proprietors was exceptionally strong, and had been confirmed by the British Government. The position of tenants or occupiers in every province is better and more secure than it was fifty years ago. In permanently settled Bengal the Tenancy Act of 1885 has greatly strengthened and improved the position of the ryot; and the cadastral survey which is being carried out in the province shows that the great bulk of the ryots enjoy tenant-right under the law. Thus Lord Cornwallis's intention in favour of the ryots, promulgated more than 100 years ago, has, so far as changed circumstances permitted, been at last carried into effect, for the rights of the occupiers of the soil have been in great part secured; and this has been done without injustice to the Bengal landlords, whose gross rental has increased four or five fold during the century, and has in many tracts more than doubled during the past fifty years.

18. *Surveys.*—Before 1858 the Great Trigonometrical Survey had been organised, and there had been collected in India a valuable staff of surveyors, who were engaged in surveying the country for topographical and revenue purposes. During the past fifty years the system of great triangles, on which all the Indian surveys are based, has been carried over the whole country and extended to Candahar and Cabul on the north and far down the Malay peninsula on the south. The topographical branch of the survey has completed the survey of all India, including the Native States, with the exception of portions of Burma and certain tracts in Madras. Detached parties of topographical surveyors have also mapped large portions of the Himalayas, the wild tracts on the north-western and north-eastern frontier, and as occasion has presented itself, surveys have been made in territories beyond the limits of the Indian Empire. For administrative purposes more detailed surveys showing the boundaries of villages and estates have also been made, and for the purpose of preparing the cadastral record of holdings, on which the land assessment is based, cadastral surveys showing every field in every village have been made in the temporarily settled provinces, and are being made in permanently settled tracts of Bengal and Madras. For the whole of continental India the maps and geographical material are more complete and accurate than are possessed by some more advanced nations. Through the operations of the survey an accurate knowledge of the tides on the Indian coast has been acquired.

The geological survey has, since the Mutiny, been carried over the greater part of India; the rocks and formations have been mapped and described, while special investigation has been made of tracts known or believed to contain coal, earth-oil, gold, or other minerals. The marine survey has continued its work; the Indian coasts and harbours have been surveyed, and charts and soundings have been published. The archæological survey has been reorganised and placed on a permanent footing; its investigations and publications have thrown light on the history of India, and have facilitated the work of preserving the beautiful and interesting buildings left by dynasties and peoples who have passed away.

Heads of Revenues.

19. *Salt Tax.*—From time immemorial a tax on salt has been a source of revenue in India, and it has been held that at the present time it is the only impost which falls upon an Indian of moderate means who neither holds land nor goes to law, nor consumes liquor or opium. It represents an average annual payment of 2½*d.* per head. In 1858 the salt tax was Rs. 2½ a maund (about 82 lbs.) in Bengal, one rupee a maund (including cost of manufacture) in Madras, 12 annas in Bombay, and Rs. 2 a maund in Northern India; in 1859 the rates were raised to Rs. 3, Re. 1, and Rs. 2½ respectively, and in 1861 they were again raised to Rs. 3¼ in Bengal, Rs. 1½ in Madras, and Rs. 3 in Northern India; in 1865 the Bombay rate was raised to Rs. 1½ per maund. The rate of Rs. 3¼ per maund had been applied in Bengal as long ago as 1837. The duty was levied at seaports on imported salt, it was levied on British India salt at the coast or other salt sources, and on salt brought from Native States it was levied by means of an internal customs line 2,000 miles long, winding round the Punjab, the North-West Provinces, and the Central Provinces. At this line duties were levied on all salt passing eastwards, and also on all sugar passing westwards.

Between the years 1870–78 arrangements were made with Native States owning salt sources, whereby the Chiefs, in consideration of large annual payments, allowed the British Government to control and tax the manufacture of salt within those States. Railways were made to the salt sources, and so the Government were enabled to tax all salt passing thence to British India, by keeping small preventive establishments at the places of production. The way was thus opened for the abolition of the inland customs line, and for the equalisation of salt duties all over India. As a necessary step towards this end, in 1878 the salt duty was raised in Madras and Bombay, and reduced over the rest of India; and in 1882 the duty was fixed at a uniform rate of Rs. 2 a maund all over India, except in Burma, where a low rate of three annas or about ¼ rupee was maintained. The inland customs line was abolished, whereby the people and the trade along a broad belt of country, 2,000 miles long, were relieved from much harassment, and inland transit duties on sugar of an oppressive nature ceased. These measures resulted in a large increase of the consumption, the quantity of duty-paid salt consumed in 1888 being 50 per cent. in excess of the figure for 1868. In 1888 it was found necessary to raise the salt duty from Rs. 2 to Rs. 2½ per maund, in order to meet financial difficulties mainly caused by the fall in the gold price of silver, and at that rate it remained till 1903. In 1903 it was reduced to Rs. 2 the maund, in 1905 to Rs. 1½ the maund, and in 1907 to Re. 1 the maund.

Salt is now far cheaper in India as a whole than it was 50 years ago, or at any earlier stage of Indian history. Not only is the present rate of duty the lowest on record, but the cheapness and facility of transport which the extension of railways has secured was in former days unknown. Between 1903 and 1908, the period covered by the recent reductions of duty, the consumption of duty-paid salt increased by 22 per cent. The average annual consumption, reckoned on the population of all India, is now 12 lbs. per head, or approximately double what it was 50 years ago. Salt is a bulky article, and most parts of India are hundreds of miles distant from salt sources. For instance, at Nagpore, in the middle of India, 500 miles from the Bombay salt sources, salt used to be retailed at 11 lbs. per rupee, when the duty was

Rs. 3 a maund; the railway was opened to Nagpore in 1866, and within a year the ruling price of salt at Nagpore was 19 lbs. per rupee. The present price at Nagpore is 30 lbs. per rupee, which approximates to the not excessive price of a halfpenny the pound. The effect of railways on the price of salt in Eastern Oudh and Rohilkund has been quite as marked. In old days those territories obtained their salt with difficulty and at great cost from Rajputana, which was distant two months' journey by pack bullock, camel, and cart. Now, salt is delivered by rail in any quantity desired, and at a price which, inclusive of the duty, does not greatly exceed the retail price of table salt in England. In the year 1861 the net salt revenue was Rs. 39,410,000, with a duty averaging Rs. 2½; in the year 1886–87 it was Rs. 61,710,000, with a uniform rate of Rs. 2. In 1902–03, the last year of the higher rate of Rs. 2½, it was Rs. 83,700,000. In 1907–08, with a uniform rate of Re. 1 a maund, or one-fifth of a penny per lb., it was Rs. 50,000,000, or 3,333,000*l.*

20. *Opium.*—The opium revenue is raised on opium sent from India to China and other countries, partly by a monopoly in Eastern India and partly by an export duty in Western India. The chief changes in the administration of this revenue during the past fifty years have been the enhancement of the export duty on Bombay opium; conventions with Native States, whereby, for a liberal payment, they unite with the Indian exchequer to safeguard the duty on opium grown in Native States; the increase of the price paid to poppy cultivators for all produce delivered at the Bengal opium factories; the formation of a reserve opium stock in Calcutta, whereby the amount of opium sold monthly can be steadily maintained from year to year, instead of fluctuating violently from season to season according as the crop is good or bad; and lately an arrangement with the Chinese Government for the gradual contraction of the export trade. By this arrangement, which took effect from January 1908, the export of opium from India was reduced from the hitherto existing standard of 66,000 chests to 61,900 chests in 1908, has been further reduced to 56,800 chests in 1909, and will be reduced to 51,700 chests in 1910. Further reductions after 1910 will be made if China has, in the interval, effected a proportional reduction in its own production and consumption of opium. The area under poppy cultivation in Bengal is similarly being reduced, and restrictions have been placed on the export of opium grown in Native States. A serious decline in the opium revenue in the immediate future is therefore inevitable. In 1880–81 the net opium revenue was Rs. 84,000,000, equivalent at the exchange of the day to about 7,000,000*l.* Of recent years, owing to the increased cost of producing opium in India and the competition of Chinese opium with the imported Indian article, the receipts have greatly decreased. For 1909–10 the estimate is for a net revenue of little over 3,300,000*l.*, and in succeeding years the revenue from this source will be progressively diminished.

21. *Customs.*—The scope and rates of the import duties have varied during the 50 years in accordance with financial needs. Before the Mutiny there was a general tax on imports at the present rate of 5 per cent. In 1859 the rate was raised to 10 per cent. to meet in part the financial difficulties consequent on the Sepoy mutiny. In 1864 it was lowered to 7½ per cent., and in 1875 to 5 per cent. Between 1875 and 1879 various changes in the tariff were made with the object of reducing the number of articles taxed and exempting cotton goods from taxation, and in 1882 the prosperous state of the finances enabled the Government to abolish the remaining import duties. Special import duties on arms, salt, opium, and alcoholic liquors, and an export duty on rice, were retained, and to these in 1888 was added an import duty on petroleum. In 1893 the heavy burden thrown upon the finances by the fall of exchange made it necessary to reimpose a general duty of 5 per cent. on imports. Cotton piece goods and yarns were at first exempted, but in 1896 it was found necessary to subject imported piece goods to a customs duty of 3½ per cent., a corresponding excise duty being imposed on similar goods manufactured in Indian cotton mills, in order to deprive the tax of any protective character. Since 1896 the changes made in the tariff have been unimportant, but, by reason of the growing trade of the country, the yield of the duties has risen from about 3,000,000*l.* to 5,000,000*l.*

22. *Excise.*—Before 1858 the excise revenue on spirits, liquors, and drugs was raised under the farming system, which the British Administration had inherited from the Muhammadan rulers of India, and under which there was practically no regulation or control of consumption. During the past fifty years this system has been changed, and in most cities, towns, and populous tracts all spirits passed into consumption pay a still-head duty, or an import duty per gallon, according to strength; only a limited number of shops are licensed, and illicit stills are put down as far as possible. The farming or contract system survives only in sparsely peopled tracts, where administrative supervision is difficult. The great bulk of the revenue is raised under the still-head duty system which is worked with the object of securing the maximum of revenue with the minimum of consumption. Under the present system liquor is much dearer to the consumer than it was under the old system, and the duty on every gallon of spirit consumed is much higher. The excise revenue has risen sevenfold since 1860, and now amounts to about 6,500,000*l.* The consumption of liquor and the excise revenue paid per head of the population are considerable in some of the great cities and towns, while in the rural tracts both are for the most part very small. Owing to the improvement in wages and in industrial employment the classes which consume intoxicating drinks and drugs are able to spend more than they did fifty years ago, but they pay much more for, and contribute a higher revenue on, what they consume than they did under the old system. The present system is not without its critics, who allege that it is morally ineffective, if it does not actively promote the alcoholic habit among a naturally abstemious population. Against this it is urged that the present system does not do more than provide reasonable facilities for obtaining liquor to the classes which have always been accustomed to consume it; that it embodies the policy of levying a maximum revenue from a minimum consumption; and that the greater part of the recorded increase of revenue is due to heavier taxation and to the suppression of illicit distillation and other like practices.

23. *Income Tax.*—Fifty years ago the trading and professional classes contributed little or nothing to the national burdens, and the Court of Directors reported in 1858 that "nearly two thirds of the revenue of India consisted of the rent of land." In 1860 a tax was introduced on trading and professional incomes, and incomes derived from investments. Since that time, with short intervals, during which the impost was foregone, an income tax in one shape or another has formed part of the fiscal system of India. Under the present law no incomes below Rs. 1,000 a year are taxed, and incomes from land or agriculture, being otherwise taxed, are exempt; incomes between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 a year pay about 2 per cent., and incomes of Rs. 2,000 a year and upwards pay five pies in the rupee, equal to 2·6 per cent. or $6\frac{1}{4}$ pence in the pound sterling. The total number of income tax payers is about 250,000, and the total yield of the tax about 1,500,000*l.* It should be remembered that the assets of India are mainly agricultural, and that agricultural profits are exempt from the tax.

24. *Stamp Duties.*—Stamp duties before 1858 were levied mainly on litigation and on legal documents, and they yielded in the year 1859 a revenue of less than 750,000*l.* In the year 1860 the stamp law was revised and placed more nearly on the system followed in England. Duties were imposed on trading and commercial documents. Since that year the rates of duty have been periodically revised, and the original scale of duties has been reduced in many respects. These duties now yield a net revenue of about 4,300,000*l.*, of which seven-tenths are levied from litigants in courts of justice and three-tenths on trading and other documents. The judicial stamp revenue may be regarded in the light of payment for service rendered by the costly judicial establishment rather than a tax in the proper sense of the word.

Forests.

25. *Forest Conservancy.*—In 1858 a beginning had been made in the direction of preserving the State forests and securing a forest revenue in parts of Burma and Madras. There were great areas of forests, copse, and waste belonging to the State in every province in India, but little attempt

had been made either to prevent wasteful destruction of forests, to promote reproduction, or to secure supplies of timber, firewood, or other forest products for the use of future generations. Since 1858 the forest system begun by Sir D. Brandis in Pegu and Tenasserim has been extended to every province in India; forest laws have been enacted for every province, a staff of trained forest officers has been organised; 92,000 square miles of State forests have been marked off as forest reserves, which are to be husbanded and managed as public properties for the benefit of the country at large and of the people living in their vicinity. Fire is excluded from these forests; systematic working for timber, for fire-wood, and for other purposes has been introduced; tribal and other rights or claims in the forest reserves have been bought up or adjusted; plantation and reproduction of timber and firewood are being scientifically conducted. Meanwhile, a considerable forest revenue has been fostered. The total forest revenue of British India now averages about 1,800,000*l.*, and the net forest revenue about 800,000*l.*, after paying all charges for forest conservancy and working. The advantages, present and prospective, of scientific forest management are so clear that the larger Native States, notably Mysore and Travancore, have organised and are maintaining a forest administration of their own on the system adopted in British India, and are raising a considerable forest revenue. Some of the smaller States have leased their more valuable forests to the British Indian Forest Department, to be worked on scientific principles.

Post Office and Telegraphs.

26. *Post Office.*—Before 1858 a postal system on the English model, with a uniform low stamp for all distances, had been introduced into India, and since that year the postal system has been greatly extended and improved. In 1856 there were 36,000 miles of postal route, now there are nearly 160,000 miles; in 1856 there were 750 post offices and boxes, now there are about 70,000; then 33 millions of letters, packets, and newspapers passed yearly through the post office, now the number exceeds 800 millions. At the same time the post office has undertaken a vast amount of new work connected with money remittances, parcel insurance, savings banks, and other public requirements. The extent to which Indians of all races use the post office has increased amazingly. A letter now travels safely for a half-anna (½*d.*) stamp, and a post card for a quarter-anna (farthing) stamp, over a distance of 3,000 miles from Quetta in Baluchistan to Bhamo near the border of China by road, railway, ocean, and river. The Indian postal charges are not intended to yield a large surplus revenue as in great Britain, and the net revenue is kept at the modest figure of about 100,000*l.*

Of the miscellaneous work performed by the post office the business of money orders and of savings banks is the most important. In 1858 the Government had opened no savings banks for the public. Now there are over 8,000 savings banks, with about 1,200,000 depositors, of whom nine tenths are Indians, and the total value of deposits is about 10,000,000*l.* Money orders to the amount of about 25,000,000*l.* a year are annually issued.

27. *Telegraphs.*—In 1857 there were 3,000 miles of single telegraph wire in India, and a few score of telegraph offices. There is now a total length of 69,000 miles of line, with 270,000 miles of wire; there are 7,000 telegraph offices, and 12 million messages annually pass over the wires. The fee for a short message, irrespective of distance, which may reach 3,000 miles, is four annas (equal to 4*d.* in English money), or about one eighth of the rates charged in 1856. The telegraph receipts yield a surplus after meeting all current charges for maintenance and working (exclusive of charges for new construction), varying from 2 to 3 per cent. on the capital outlay of about 6,600,000*l.*

Hospitals and Sanitation.

28. *Hospitals.*—From the early days of British rule in India continued effort has been made to carry to the people and to the homes of India the benefits of scientific surgery and medicine, and to help the Indians to use

their own indigenous drugs to the best advantage. In 1857 there were 142 civil hospitals and dispensaries, at which 671,000 sufferers were treated during the year; in 1907 there were in British India 2,514 institutions of this kind, at which 412,400 in-patients and 24,470,000 out-patients were treated. The number of Indian practitioners who have been trained in modern surgery and medicine is now more than twenty times as large as it was in 1857. Vaccination has been greatly extended; the earliest year for which accurate information is available is 1877, and in that year 4,027,000 persons were successfully vaccinated. The number of vaccinations has increased steadily in all provinces, until now there are annually between eight and nine millions of successful vaccinations. In some cities and districts the number of yearly vaccinations is nearly equal to the births; and in all provinces there has been a clear diminution in the prevalence and in the severity of small-pox.

29. *Sanitation.*—In 1858 nothing had been done for sanitary reform outside a very few large cities and cantonments, and no attempt had been made to ascertain the facts regarding death and disease over the country. During the past 50 years a system of registering deaths, causes of death, and births has been gradually extended over nearly the whole of India. In some provinces and in most large towns the registration is now fairly correct; and a valuable body of information is being collected concerning the mortality and diseases of the population in different tracts. Sanitary reform is being attempted in all cities and towns that have any kind of municipal organization, and during the last 20 years real progress has been made in the maritime capitals and other important centres. The construction of waterworks, by means of funds borrowed from the Government, has been a successful feature of municipal administration. More than 80 municipal towns are now furnished with water supply systems, many of which are on a large scale and constructed in accordance with the most approved modern methods. But in most towns, and even in the cities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, insanitary conditions still cause much preventable disease and death. The necessity for improving the conditions under which the people live, especially in the larger towns, has of late been emphasised by the calamitous epidemic of plague which has ravaged India since 1896. Liberal grants in aid from general revenues are now made to municipal bodies for this purpose, and great attention and trained intelligence are being applied to the sanitary problems of Indian urban life with, it may be hoped, good results in the immediate future. In rural tracts sanitary reform is necessarily more backward, and progress is impeded by the inadequacy of local revenues, the insufficiency of the staff at the disposal of the local authorities, and by old-seated habits and prejudices on the part of the rural population. It cannot be said that any marked reduction has been yet effected in the recurrence of cholera or in the prevalence of fever, though small-pox has been perceptibly checked, and fevers mitigated by supplies of cheap quinine from the Government cinchona plantations. For the direction of sanitary officers Sanitary Commissioners or Boards have been established in every province. The detailed executive management of sanitary matters in rural India is vested in district and village authorities constituted on a popular basis, and representative in an increasing degree of public opinion. As these bodies grow in experience and their finances improve, they are found more ready to promote measures for the improvement of the public health. There are signs that even among the rural population popular apathy to sanitary improvement is giving way to a perception of its advantages.

Education.

30. *Education.*—The educational policy dictated by Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854 was beginning to take effect when Her Majesty assumed the Government of India. In 1882–83 a careful inquiry was undertaken by a Special Commission into the educational system and progress of every province. The result of that Commission was a renewed enforcement and a farther extension of the educational principles and policy prescribed in 1854.

Three Universities had been established in 1857, and a few undergraduates had been attracted; Education Departments had been formed in the larger provinces; and a system of giving grants in aid to schools had been begun. The educational statistics of 1858 are not complete, but apparently there were then about 13 colleges, while the schools of all grades known to the Educational Department contained about 400,000 scholars. The earliest year for which complete statistics are available is 1865; and the figures of that year can be compared with recent statistics. In that year there were 26 colleges and college departments with 1,582 undergraduate students; in 1907 there were 179 colleges and college departments, with 26,000 undergraduates on the rolls. In 1865 the returns showed 19,201 schools of all grades with 619,260 scholars, while in 1907 there were 165,473 schools with 5,708,000 scholars. The total educational expenditure was about Rs. 3,940,000 in 1858, and Rs. 6,710,000 in 1865; while in 1907, the total expenditure was Rs. 60,000,000 or 4,000,000*l*., of which about 1,000,000*l*. came from school fees, 800,000*l*. from private subscriptions or endowments, and the remainder from the public revenues, national and local.

Normal schools for training men and women teachers have been established in every province; while a staff of inspecting officers visit and examine all schools on the departmental lists. The proportion of children passing the several standards has continued to increase; and the numbers reaching and attending secondary schools have steadily advanced till, in 1907, there were 687,926 boys and 66,341 girls on the rolls of secondary public schools of a general kind, besides about 160,000 in special schools or in advanced private schools. Medical colleges and schools furnish yearly an increasing number of graduates and certificated practitioners, who do duty at hospitals and dispensaries, or serve in the Army Medical Department, or find useful and lucrative careers in private practice. A valuable association founded by the Marchioness of Dufferin, and supported by Indians of all classes, employs women doctors for work in women's hospitals and in Indian homes, and disseminates knowledge of medicine, surgery, and nursing among the women of the country. Engineering and other technical schools and classes have increased, while a large number of apprentices receive technical teaching of the best kind at the workshops attached to the railway lines. Schools of art have been established at a few centres, but the number of students is not large; the teaching of drawing and surveying is, however, being extended in most provinces. The number of law students is everywhere large in comparison with the attendance at other special institutions; but the law is a popular profession with the educated classes in India, and there can be no question but that the present generation of trained lawyers have done much to improve the administration of justice in India. Much of the educational progress of the past fifty years has been due to the efforts of private persons, missionaries, and others, who from motive of charity and public spirit conduct or endow schools, which earn grants in aid from the public funds; without these private agencies, the progress, more especially in secondary schools, could not have been nearly so great. The administration of educational funds and the control of schools, subject to supervision by inspectors, are now mostly in the hands of local public bodies, the members of which are elected by or nominated from among the taxpayers.

Until recent times the curriculum of Indian schools and colleges was almost entirely literary, and was open to the objection that it tended to produce a larger number of graduates in "Arts" than could be absorbed into the public service or the learned professions, and that it made no provision for the requirements of commerce, agriculture, or the scientific professions. This defect still exists, but in a less degree, and its removal is only a question of time. The educational curriculum has been greatly enlarged. Facilities for alternative branches of study have been greatly increased. What is equally important, these studies are fast becoming popular and attract students in increasing numbers.

31. *Literature and Newspapers.*—One result of the spread of education has been a great increase in the number of books, magazines, and newspapers published in India. Fifty years ago there were a few vernacular newspapers, with a small circulation, mostly at or near the Presidency towns. In 1907

there were 2,571 printing presses at work, and 753 newspapers and 1,062 periodicals were registered. Many of these are unimportant journals of an ephemeral character with a circulation of a few hundreds only, and the number with a circulation exceeding 2,000 copies is still small. But in the larger centres the habit of political discussion through a daily press is now established, and every year marks its extension and increasing attraction.

In the year 1858 hardly any vernacular books were published save a few educational or religious works and occasional reprints of old dramas, stories, and poems. In 1907 the register of publications for British India showed 8,619 books and magazines published within the year, of which more than 80 per cent. were in vernacular languages. Though the quality of this literary activity leaves something to be desired, its range and diversity are interesting as evidence of the ferment of new ideas, and the play of novel and incongruous forces, in present day India.

Finance.

32. *Finance.*—The fifty years now under review began when the financial difficulties caused by the sepoy mutiny were at their height; between the years 1857 and 1862 those troubles caused a great excess of expenditure over revenue, and an addition of 42,100,000*l.* to the public debt of India. In the year 1861–62 equilibrium was practically restored to the finances. For the purpose of the present remarks it will be best to compare the financial results of the pre-mutiny period with those of the last 30 years. During the 20 years previous to the mutiny there had been 14 years of deficit and six years of surplus, yielding a net deficit of 16,393,000*l.*, and an addition of 15,900,000*l.* to the debt. During the 30 years ending 1907–08 there have been 21 years of surplus and nine of deficit yielding, in the aggregate, a net surplus of 24,000,000*l.* This result has been attained after meeting all famine relief expenditure out of the revenue of the year, and providing from the same source large amounts for protective railways and irrigation works and further sums for productive public works which are ordinarily constructed by borrowed capital. The debt of India on the 31st March 1908 amounted to 246,034,071*l.*, of which 157,481,074*l.* was sterling debt, and 88,552,997*l.* rupee debt. Of this total 177½ millions have been incurred for railways and 30 millions for irrigation works. The interest on this portion of the debt is charged to these particular services, and as they both show large net profits, no charge for interest on this account falls on the taxpayer. The public debt of India, apart from capital thus invested, is therefore only 38½ millions, as against 51 millions before and 93 millions after the mutiny period, and the charge for interest falling on the revenues is quite inconsiderable. This fortunate result has been achieved by means of a steady and substantial surplus of revenue over ordinary expenditure, which is utilised on profitable public works, and the requisite surplus has of recent years become more easy of attainment by reason of the increasing profits derived from railways and irrigation. At the end of the mutiny period the rupee debt bore interest at rates ranging for the most part from 4 to 5½ per cent., and it was difficult to borrow money in England for India under 5 per cent. Now-a-days the monetary credit of India compares favourably with that of many European States.

33. *Income and Expenditure.*—The gross revenue of India expressed in rupees, without reference to the fall in the gold value of the rupee, has more than trebled in the fifty years. In 1856–57 it was Rs. 317,000,000, and in 1906–07 Rs. 1,084,000,000. But many items are included in the present revenue of India which are not found in the comparatively simple budgets of pre-mutiny India, and which are of the nature of commercial receipts: as, for instance, the earnings of railways, irrigation, and forests. Confining the comparison to revenue derived from taxation (including land revenue and opium), the receipts have more than doubled. They were Rs. 290,000,000 in 1856–57 against Rs. 649,000,000 in 1906–07. But, large as the increase is, it is almost wholly due to the growth of revenue under old heads. The only new revenues are the income tax and provincial rates, and against these may be set the reductions which have been made within the period in the salt

duty and in inland transit dues. Municipal and other local taxes, which are not shown in the public revenue, have, it is true, been imposed since the Mutiny; but the proceeds are expended entirely by local bodies on local objects, such as roads, harbours, schools, hospitals, and town improvements.

The gross expenditure similarly shows a very large increase on the pre-mutiny standard. In 1856-57 it was Rs. 318,000,000; in 1906-07 Rs. 1,073,000,000. Excluding from the latter figure charges of a commercial nature, such as the working expenses of railways, canals, forests, posts, and telegraph, which have practically no counterpart in the budget of fifty years ago, there is still an increased expenditure of about Rs. 480,000,000, or 32,000,000*l*. This increase is due partly to larger outlay on public works, partly to the increased Army charges, and partly to the silver difficulty described in the next following paragraph; but it is mainly due to the growing requirements of a civilized and improving administration. The pension list has increased; the land revenue administration is more elaborate; there are many more courts of justice and more police; the expenditure on education, on hospitals, on forest administration is many fold larger than it was in 1856; the standard of wages has risen; the average salaries paid to educated Indian officers of all ranks have more than doubled, while the salaries of but few European Civil officers have increased, though the value of salaries paid in silver has fallen for the purpose of savings or expenditure in Europe. In order that the administration of India should be improved in accordance with the growing requirements of the present time, very much of this increased expenditure was absolutely unavoidable. Special commissions or inquiries have been frequently instituted to check and reduce expenditure, and in this way economies have been effected or increase checked. The guardians of the Indian exchequer are constantly occupied in resisting proposals for additional expenditure, even though such proposals are shown to be in themselves reasonable and beneficial. But, with all this, the cost of a civilised government tends to increase, as is seen in England and other countries of Europe, and the tendency is exceptionally strong in India where such a government is of comparatively recent growth.

34. *Currency difficulty.*—During the period the task of administering the finances of India was rendered exceptionally difficult by reason of the fall in the value of silver as compared with gold. Ever since India has been a dependency of Great Britain, a considerable expenditure on its account has had to be incurred in England. In the early days of the East India Company some of the payments thus made arose out of the trading monopoly and territorial revenues enjoyed by the Company. But the present expenditure of the Indian Government in England is of another kind. It is on account of interest on so much of the public debt as was borrowed in England; in payment of interest and annuities on account of railways purchased by the Government from the guaranteed companies; on account of stores, arms, and materials of all kinds for the public departments; on account of charges incurred in England for the British force in India; and on account of pensions to retired public servants and soldiers. About 18 millions sterling has, in these ways, to be spent in England on account of the Indian Government, and this has to be paid in gold, while the Indian revenues are raised in silver.

For nearly a hundred years, up to 1871, ten rupees of Indian money could on the average be exchanged for one pound sterling of English money. And at that rate Rs. 180,000,000 would suffice to cover India's yearly liability of 18 millions sterling in England. But since 1871 silver has been practically demonetized in Europe; and the relative value of silver, as compared with gold, has greatly declined. From 1873 onwards the progressive fall in the gold value of the rupee was a source of increasing embarrassment to the finances of India. It occasioned unexpected deficits, obliged the Government to retain and sometimes to increase taxation which it was anxious to remit, to stint expenditure of the most necessary kind, to restrict public works, and to refrain from undertaking much required improvements by means of borrowed capital, both on account of the apprehensions of the money market and the risk of contracting fresh gold obligations. In 1893, by which time the rupee had fallen to a point representing little more

than half its former value, the Indian mints were closed for the unrestricted coinage of silver. In succeeding years measures were taken to make a gold standard effective by accumulating a reserve in gold, and by introducing gold into the currency at the ratio of a pound sterling to 15 rupees. The rupee, while still legal tender for any sum, has now become a token coin representing 16 pence of English money—a tender value much in excess of its intrinsic worth. Since 1896 the fluctuations of silver have ceased to disturb the finances of the country. The maintenance of the standard in seasons when the export trade is bad, and the mercantile demand for bills of exchange on India is slack, will, as recent experience has shown, not be free from difficulty. But, beyond question, the currency reform of 1893 has greatly ameliorated the financial position of the Indian Government, and has coincided with much commercial prosperity and industrial growth. From 1896 onwards the external and internal trade of India has increased beyond precedent; the revenues have mounted up year by year, taxation has been very substantially reduced, and, notwithstanding considerable additions to the public expenditure for police, education, and other urgent administrative requirements, large surpluses have been secured.

35. *Financial System.*—Before 1858 the absolute control of all the finances throughout India, down to the smallest detail, was in the hands of the Supreme Government. Not even a messenger on a rupee a week could be permanently engaged without the sanction of the Governor-General in Council; and detailed projects for even small and urgent works had to be submitted to the Government of India. There were no Budget estimates published annually; and, though expenditure was vigilantly restricted, and accounts were carefully audited, detailed grants of money were not fixed for each head of service, against which grants of expenditure could be checked and brought to account. By Act of Parliament in 1858 the entire control of the revenues both in India and elsewhere is vested in the Secretary of State in Council; but as a matter of practice he delegates a large portion of this power to the Government of India under rules and regulations laid down from time to time.

In 1860 Mr. James Wilson introduced the system of annual budget estimates, with sanctioned grants for each sub-head in every province and district. Under his system, which with certain modifications of detail is still in force, budget estimates for the Empire are compiled from the sanctioned estimates for each province and department; and the final estimates are made public before the beginning of the year, together with the accounts and revised estimates of the two preceeding years. The budget estimates of each year are laid before and discussed in the Legislative Council, whose sanction is necessary to measures for the reduction or increase of taxation. Every department and official is rigorously bound to keep expenditure within the sanctioned grant, or to report at once for orders if unforeseen circumstances, such as failure of crops, famine, or war, prevent the fulfilment of the sanctioned estimates of revenue, or necessitate excess outlay beyond the sanctioned grant. Behind the control of the Government of India is that of the Secretary of State for India in Council, who has laid down the principle that without his sanction no new office, carrying a salary of more than 400*l.* a year can be created, no serious departure from the sanctioned budget estimates permitted, and no large scheme involving fresh expenditure launched.

36. *Provincial Finance.*—As the business of the administration increased, it was found increasingly difficult for the Supreme Government to exercise a detailed control over every item of expenditure throughout the Empire. Although the Budget system imposed a strict limit on expenditure during any year, yet at the end of each year the Local Governments were constantly pressing that more funds should be devoted to administrative and other improvements in their provinces. Lord Mayo's Government in 1870 decided that wider financial responsibilities and powers might advantageously be delegated to the Local Governments; they transferred to the provincial authorities the entire management of certain heads of civil expenditure, allotted to each Local Government fixed grants to pay for those services or departments, and left it full discretion to spend those grants to the best

advantage, subject to budget rules and to the reservation of the powers of the Secretary of State. At the same time a more complete control was delegated to Local Governments over expenditure from all funds raised for local purposes. It was found that this partial provincialization of the finances saved much correspondence and friction, conduced to efficient administration, and led the Local Governments to introduce important economies and improvements that might otherwise have been indefinitely postponed.

Since 1870 the provincial system has been carried much further. The control of all expenditure has been delegated to the Local Governments. At the same time, the interest of the provincial authorities in the development of the revenue has been secured by the delegation to them of the management of all heads of provincial revenue, and by allotting to them shares of that revenue instead of a fixed money grant, to meet the provincial expenditure. As the provincial finance system now stands, the Supreme Government keeps under its own control the opium, salt, customs, post office and telegraph, tributes, mint, and currency receipts, and also the expenditure under those heads, on the army and military works, on political relations, on the public debt, and on railways. The administrative control of other heads of revenue and expenditure devolves on the Local Governments. In round figures, and exclusive of railways, the Supreme Government keeps the control over 49,000,000*l.* of expenditure, including payments in England, while to the Local Governments is delegated the control of 23,000,000*l.*

Neither the Secretary of State in Council nor the Government of India are divested, by the provincial finance system, of responsibility for the finances or for the administration of provincialised revenues and departments. By the budget rules, under provisions enacted by the Legislature, and by means of constant reports, they maintain control over the proceedings of the Local Governments. They reserve the right of modifying the provincial finance arrangements either periodically or when special need arises.

37. *Paper Currency and Mint.*—The three Presidency banks had a note circulation which in 1860 was hardly current outside the cities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. In the year 1862 the private note circulation ceased, and the Government introduced a paper currency on the basis of complete convertibility into silver. There are now eight circles of issue, each of which gives in exchange for money notes ranging from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10,000 in value. The five rupee note is legal tender in any place in British India. Other notes can be cashed up to any amount at the circle head-quarters; and they can be obtained or cashed in moderate quantities at most of the district treasuries in the circle. The value of the currency notes in circulation in March 1908 amounted to 31,300,000*l.* The service performed by the note circulation is more considerable than the foregoing figures might imply; for the returns show that from April 1907 to March 1908 120,000,000*l.* worth of notes were issued by the Currency Department for cash, while 110,000,000*l.* worth were cashed at currency offices and agencies. The Currency Act allows a part of the gold and silver received for notes to be invested in Indian Government securities or in sterling securities of the United Kingdom up to a maximum of 8,000,000*l.* The interest yielded by this investment amounts to 270,000*l.* a year, while the expenditure of the Currency Department amounts to 110,000*l.* a year.

Before the year 1858 there were three mints in British India. By reason of the railway communications and of improvements in mint processes and machinery, it was found possible to close the Madras mint and to do the work of the country with two mints. The Indian mints now work as well and as economically as the present state of scientific knowledge permits, and minor improvements or economies are being introduced from year to year. The total value of the silver coined in British India from 1859 to 1908 inclusive has been 3,853 millions of rupees. Since 1893 the Indian mints have been closed for the unrestricted coinage of silver. Silver is purchased by the Government and coined into rupees as may be required. The profits resulting from this coinage are not treated as revenue, but are paid into a special fund, called the Gold Standard Reserve, the greater part of which is ordinarily held in sterling securities.

Public Works.

38. In the time of the East India Company certain great roads were constructed, the Ganges canal was dug, the Jumna canals were reopened, and improvements were made in some of the old works on the Madras coast, but the progress effected with works of material improvement in India has been far greater during the last 50 years than during all the previous centuries combined.

39. *Railways.*—In 1857 the Indian Government had opened 300 miles of railway, which carried during the year 2 million passengers and 253,000 tons of goods. On the 1st April 1909 there were 30,983 miles of open railway, which carried during the year 330 million passengers and over 64 million tons of goods. The rates charged for passengers on these railways are as low as one-fifth of a penny per mile for passengers, and under one-halfpenny per ton per mile for goods. The gross earnings of the Indian railways in 1908 were approximately 30,000,000*l.*; and it has been estimated that the producers, traders, and passengers of India benefit to an amount corresponding to 100,000,000*l.* a year by reason of the cheapness of railway over the old modes of travelling, exclusive of the saving of time between a rate of 10 to 20 miles a day and a rate of 400 miles a day. The railway service gives employment to 525,000 persons, of whom over 508,000 are Indians.

It is hardly necessary to refer here to the incalculable benefit done by railways which in time of need carry food from prosperous districts to famine stricken provinces; or to the impulse given to production and trade when railways carry to the seaports surplus products that would otherwise have found no market, and might have rotted in granaries; or to the enormous addition to the military strength of the country, when troops and material can be moved to the frontier, or to any scene of disturbance, at the rate of 400 miles instead of 10 miles a day, and at one-sixth of the old cost. Railways have now been made on the main routes in British or Native territory; the system of military railways on the north-west frontier is practically complete, and several lines which do not pay commercially have been constructed for the protection of tracts specially liable to visitation by famine. But some large tracts of country have still to be opened up, many railways require feeder lines, and the growing traffic of the trunk lines demands improved facilities which will entail heavy capital outlay. The capital expenditure on railways during the last five years has exceeded that of any previous period of equal length, yet even at the present accelerated rate the development of railway communications is regarded by many as less rapid than the country requires. The hinderance to a quicker expansion has been, and still is, mainly financial.

The actual capital outlay on Indian railways open to traffic amounted at the close of 1908 to 274,000,000*l.*; and during that year the net earnings amounted to 4·33 per cent. on the capital outlay. In the previous year, when traffic was more active, they amounted to 5·86 per cent. Before 1900, by reason of the rights of the guaranteed railways to one half of the surplus earnings above 5 per cent., and by reason of the liability to pay guaranteed railway interest in gold, the working and interest account of Indian railways showed a loss to the Indian exchequer. Since then the guaranteed railways have been acquired by the Government, and the railways as a whole have become increasingly profitable. During the four years ending 1907–08 the net annual gain to the State from this source was approximately 2,000,000*l.*

40. *Canals.*—After railways the most important public works of the past fifty years have been the canals and other irrigation works, whereby water is carried to the fields in parts of the country where the climate or character of the agriculture require it; embankments whereby flood waters are kept from devastating the fields; and navigation canals. In their Report of 1858 the Court of Directors adverted to:—

The Cauvery and Godavery irrigation works then partly open.
The old Jumna canals, which had been reconstructed and reopened.
The Sind canals.
The Ganges canal, which had been just opened.
The Baree Doab canal, on which work had been begun.
The Kistna and Palar irrigation system, which had been begun.
The tank systems of Madras and other provinces.

At that time the total area irrigated from all the canal systems was less than 1,500,000 acres, exclusive of tank irrigation. Since then over 30,000,000*l.* of capital, besides large sums from yearly revenue, have been spent on irrigation works. All the canal systems mentioned above have been finished or greatly extended; and there has also been large expenditure on other works of the first magnitude. Among them are the Sone and Orissa canals in Bengal, the Lower Ganges, the Agra and the Betwa canals in the United Provinces; the Periyar and Kurnool canals in Madras; the Nira canal in Bombay; the Sirhind, the Chenab, and the Jhelum canals in the Punjab; the Jamrao canal in Sindh. Of these works, perhaps the most remarkable, and certainly the most profitable, are those which have been constructed in the arid plains of the Punjab and Sindh, which have converted a once waterless and desert land into prosperous agricultural colonies and immense granaries of wheat and other products.

The direct return yielded by the different works varies greatly. For instance, on the Sindh canals and on the Chenab and Jhelum canals in the Punjab, depend the revenue, the food, and the very life of the province; for of the whole cultivated land 98 per cent. depends upon canal water, and less than 2 per cent. of the yearly harvest is raised without irrigation. In Madras the Cauvery, Godavery, and Kistna irrigation works yield a direct return of irrigation revenue varying from 15 to 22 per cent. on their capital cost. The canals in the United Provinces pay 9 per cent., and in the Punjab over 13 per cent. on their capital cost all round. The Orissa, the Sone, and the Kurnool canals yield little or no net revenue, but in years of drought they safeguard great areas of crop and secure a large supply of food. Even in provinces where canal irrigation is popular and long established, there are great variations in the extent to which water is utilized; for instance, in 1907–08, a year of severe drought, 3½ million acres took water from the canals of the United Provinces against an average of 2½ million acres in ordinary years.

For the year 1906-07 the total area that received water from all public irrigation works in India was 22,225,000 acres. For the same year the net revenue on all irrigation works for which capital accounts were kept gave a dividend of 8 per cent. on a capital expenditure of 32,500,000*l.* In an ordinary year the value of the crops secured by State irrigation works is estimated at between 40 and 50 millions sterling. In a year of drought or famine the money value of the benefit conferred by these works is very much greater. Nine-tenths of the irrigation from the great canals, most of the protection afforded by embankments, nearly all the navigation canals, and about two-thirds of the irrigation from minor sources, are due to works which have been carried out during the past 50 years.

The next 20 years will witness the completion of other irrigation schemes which in magnitude and boldness will surpass the achievements of the past. Their inception is largely due to the report of the Commission appointed in 1901 to inquire into the possibilities of extending irrigation in India. The Commission found that, subject to further professional examination of particular schemes, some 30 millions sterling could be usefully expended in the course of years on new irrigation. The programme which they provisionally outlined was accepted in principle, and has been actively taken in hand. Part of the expenditure may not be directly remunerative, as it will be concerned with tracts where the means of irrigation are poor. But the major portion of the programme, especially that which deals with the full utilisation of the great rivers of the Punjab, should be highly profitable. When these schemes are completed, the arid plains of Sindh, and of the Punjab from the Indus on the west to the Jumna on the east, will be converted into a vast irrigated tract and unfailing granary. The "triple canal project," which is one of these schemes, is now under construction. It will pass the surplus water of the Jhelum river into the Chenab river, while the latter river, thus re-enforced, will give water to a second canal, which in its turn, passing under the Ravi river, will feed a third canal in the lands between the Ravi and the Sutlej. It is estimated that at a capital cost of between six and seven millions sterling some 2,000,000 acres of land will be brought under cultivation by this utilisation of the Jhelum, without taxing the intervening rivers which have already their allotted work. This is only one of a series of schemes which in the near future will transform

the conditions of vast tracts in Upper India, and provide new outlets for the population.

41. *Roads.*—During the earlier part of the period under review a large expenditure was incurred from the general revenues on the construction of roads and bridges, more especially in the Punjab, the Central Provinces, Bombay, and Burma. The great arterial roads were then completed, in advance of and sometimes without anticipation of the revolution in transport effected by the extension of railways. Since 1871 the custody and construction of local roads have largely been made over to local bodies. These bodies either enjoy revenues or receive grants enabling them to discharge their responsibilities in this respect, and much care has been paid by them to road maintenance and road making. New trunk roads are rarely required, but additional roads are constantly undertaken in order to facilitate access to railway stations. As railways extend, more has to be done in making feeder roads to the railway, more especially in provinces where the rainfall is heavy and carts cannot ply for five or seven months of the year save on metalled and bridged roads. Throughout the greater part of India pack animals have been displaced by wheeled vehicles. Returns show that the number of carts possessed and worked by the people has increased greatly during the past 50 years. The levy of tolls on roads has been practically abolished, the only exceptions being in the case of ferries or temporary bridges of boats.

42. *Public Buildings.*—It has been the custom of the Indian Government to discourage any avoidable outlay on public buildings, and to devote available funds mainly to roads and canals. Still a great deal of building had to be undertaken. Healthy and commodious quarters have been erected for the troops all over India; most of the larger prisons have been either built or rebuilt on new designs; lighthouses have been provided round the Indian coasts; a great number of court houses, public offices, hospitals, police stations, and school houses have been constructed; and at Bombay have been erected a group of public buildings, which would be a credit and an ornament to any city in the world. Forts, batteries, and places of arms have been constructed or begun at obligatory points on the frontiers, at some of the seaports, and at a few places on the great routes in the interior. Meanwhile the ancient and beautiful buildings of past dynasties, at places like Agra, Delhi, Madura, Benares, Lahore, Ahmedabad, Gour, Budh Gaya, and Bhilsa, have been cared for and conserved.

Trade and Manufactures.

43. *Trade.*—The extension of roads, railways, and canals, the improvement of seaports, the increase of the cultivated area, and the abolition of internal and external customs duties have caused a great expansion of the trade of India. The exchange of commodities between one province or one district and another has increased vastly, but there is no record of the internal trade of India before 1858. In that year the Court of Directors reported that the exports and imports of merchandise by sea from and into India were valued at 25½ and 14¼ millions sterling respectively, or 39¾ millions for the total foreign trade. The corresponding totals for the year 1907–08 were 115½ millions sterling of exports and 86½ millions worth of imports, or 202 millions of total trade. The external land trade of India, principally with Nepal, Tibet, Western China, and Afghanistan, though relatively small compared with the sea-borne trade, shows steady progress, having more than doubled in the last 15 years, and now aggregates 10,000,000*l*. The total value of the external trade of India by sea and land has more than quintupled during the 50 years; while the actual bulk of the trade has increased in even greater proportion, because prices of most imported and exported goods are lower now than they were in 1856.

In all parts of the world a large and regularly expanding trade is rightly regarded as a sign of national prosperity. While India's external trade has gone on increasing, there has arisen within her borders a great cotton spinning and weaving industry, which already competes favourably with European manufactures in eastern markets, and a great jute industry of a highly profitable kind; there has grown up a great and rapidly increasing

production of Indian coal and petroleum oils; at the same time, new and valuable agricultural staples have been naturalised in the country. Ironworks and the production of metals on a large scale have hitherto been delayed from various causes, but a large enterprise is now in course of inception with prospects of success.

44. *Manufactures.*—In old times India was a self-contained country, where every tract, more or less, made its own clothes from its own cotton, produced its own iron and made its own tools, grew and consumed its own food. Yarn was spun, cloth was woven, iron was smelted, and tools were made on a small scale by individual workmen after rude methods. Before 1858 the old order was changing, but the change has been very much more rapid since. Machine made fabrics and tools have largely taken the place of the local manufactures; and no doubt many thousands of families have lost the trade and the custom their ancestors had enjoyed for generations. But this change has not been without compensating advantages. Some of the Indian art industries, such as embroidery, carpet weaving, and work in silver and gold, have experienced the beneficial demand of a growing foreign trade. Agriculture, which always was, and still is, the mainstay of the population, has expanded enormously. Other industries have arisen. In 1856 there was hardly a power loom in the country, now there are 217 cotton mills, with 59,000 looms and 5,500,000 spindles, employing 212,000 hands; there are 44 jute mills, with 25,000 looms and 520,000 spindles, employing about 167,000 hands; there are 92 rice mills, 62 saw mills, besides flour mills, oil mills, iron foundries, woollen mills, paper mills, pottery works, and the great workshops attached to railways and shipbuilding yards. The manufacturing industry of India is still in an early stage, but the advance made during the last few years has been marked, and augurs well for the future. During the last five years the looms in the cotton mills have increased by 50 per cent., the spindles by 11 per cent., and the mill hands by 30 per cent. In the jute industry looms, spindles, and operators have increased by over 50 per cent. The production of coal has increased 50 per cent., and that of petroleum 400 per cent. The output of the mica mines has doubled, and that of the manganese ore mines has quadrupled. If engineers and artificers of the present day in India are unable to rival the beautiful structures left by dynasties that have passed away, the field of employment for masons, carpenters, and artificers in India is wider and larger than it ever was before; and some of the great works of railway and hydraulic engineers, works put together by Indian workmen, are worthy monuments of the direct rule of the Crown in India.

45. *Agriculture and New Staples.*—The chief industry of India has always been agriculture, but it was not until about the year 1870 that the Indian Government directed systematic attention to fostering and improving Indian agriculture. Since that time there has been established in every province of India a department of agriculture, which collects and distributes early information concerning the crops, controls or advises upon model and experimental farms, introduces new agricultural appliances, tries new staples, and has established institutions for teaching the chemistry and science of agriculture. A Central College of Agriculture at Pusa provides training for advanced students. The indigenous field implements and methods have been found financially the best for agriculture of the kind prosecuted by the people, and it is chiefly in respect of the use of manures, of rotation of crops, of fodder raising and storing, of new staples, and of such appliances as improved sugar mills, that the example or teaching of the agricultural departments and their agents is most required. In each province there is also a veterinary department, which is charged with the improvement of horses, cattle, and other agricultural stock, and which has attained considerable success in mitigating the ravages of rinderpest by prophylactic treatment.

Before 1857 the cultivation of tea, coffee, and jute had been begun, but the progress made was small, and these articles were not reckoned among the staple products or exports of India. Customs restrictions were withdrawn, and the acquisition of waste lands for such crops was facilitated, and now the tea industry has so far extended that in the year 1907 over 536,000

acres were under tea, about 500,000 persons were employed upon tea gardens, and India exported 227 million pounds of tea, valued at 6,867,000*l*. More than half the tea required by the world is now supplied from India. The coffee industry of Southern India was at one time very promising. Its prospects have since been impaired by leaf disease, and by the competition of South America; still coffee valued at 743,000*l*. was exported from India in the year 1907. The exports of raw and manufactured jute during the same year were valued at 24,200,000*l*., besides the great quantity of jute used for bagging in India. Thus the export of these three new staples, tea, coffee, and jute, which in the trade returns for 1858 were valued at half a million sterling, had in 1907 reached a value of nearly 32,000,000*l*. Since 1858 the cinchona tree has been introduced from Brazil, and is now cultivated on the hills of India. One result of the introduction of this new product is that cinchona alkaloids, the only known specific against the fevers which scourge Indian populations, are now sold in India at about one-fifth the price which this valuable medicine used to command.

46. *Botanical Gardens and Museums.*—The Court of Directors were liberal in their support of botanical and other scientific investigation that contributed to develop the natural products of India. The excellent botanical gardens at Calcutta, Ootacamund, and Saharanpur have been maintained; and their usefulness extended, while another botanical garden has been opened at Bombay. A large Imperial museum at Calcutta has been built, and has acquired a great wealth of natural history and archæological specimens; other museums at Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Lucknow, Nagpore, and Rangoon have been established or extended; entrance to these museums is free, and the number of visitors is very large. To the Calcutta museum has been added a commercial section, representing as far as possible the products and manufactures of Bengal. At the India Office in London there was a large collection of Indian products and fabrics; but not being very accessible to the public the specimens of economic botany were transferred to the museum at Kew Gardens and the collection of Indian antiquities was made over to the British Museum; while a vastly enlarged, constantly increasing, and well arranged collection of fabrics and appliances from ancient and modern India is placed in a branch of the South Kensington Museum, which any one interested in the commerce or people of India can visit without charge.

Condition of the People.

47. *Divergent conditions.*—The circumstances and condition of the people vary greatly in different parts of India. The plain of the Ganges from Saharanpur to Dacca bears a rural population of 80 millions at a rate of 400 to 800 to the square mile. The Central Provinces, Burma, Assam, Rajputana, and considerable areas in the Punjab and in Bombay carry a rural population of less than 150 to the square mile. There are provinces where the rainfall is always abundant, ranging from 60 to 100 inches in the year, and there are vast plains where the rainfall is precarious and is often less than 10 inches a year. There are tracts like Sind, Tanjore, and parts of the United Provinces, where one half, or more than one half, of the cultivated area is irrigated in one way or another. Again, the great sandy plains of the Punjab, wherever water is led from the snow-fed rivers, at once become fertile, and attract and support a large population; while in other arid tracts like the Deccan uplands, Bellary, and Kurnool, water is rarely available, and even when water can be had, as from the Tungabhadra canal, the people do not take it for their crops. The tenures and the distribution of profits from land vary greatly. In the Punjab and parts of the United Provinces, in Bombay and Madras, in Burma and Assam, the profits of agriculture go wholly or in great part direct to a sturdy and in ordinary years a prosperous peasantry, who till most of the land themselves; while in Behar, Western Bengal, Orissa, Oudh, and part of the Agra Province, most of the profits of agriculture go to landlords. In these latter provinces the pressure of population and the competition for land have forced up rents, so as to leave, in some cases, only a bare margin for the support of tenants with small holdings.

In any comparison between the condition of the people in India and in Europe it has to be remembered that in India every one marries, and marries

early; that the population tends to increase at a rate varying from 2 per cent. per annum in the Upper Ganges plain to 4 per cent. per annum in Burma; that there is no poor law or system of poor relief, but there is everywhere a widespread and openhanded charity, so that the infirm, the old, the sick, the cripples, priests, besides many who prefer a mendicant's life, are in ordinary years supported by the alms of their neighbours. Further, it must be borne in mind that in rural India, from the nature of the climate and by immemorial custom, the poorer classes have fewer wants, and can satisfy them more cheaply than in Europe. Clothes, warmth, shelter, furniture, cost very little for a rural family in India; and the bulk of the population are satisfied with two meals a day of millet cakes or porridge, some pulse or green vegetable, salt, and oil. In coast districts, in southern India, and in Moslem families, a little salt fish or meat is added to the daily meal.

48. *General.*—So far as ordinary tests can be applied, the average Indian landholder, trader, ryot, or handicraftsman is better off than he was fifty years ago. He consumes more salt, more sugar, more tobacco, and far more imported luxuries and conveniences than he did a generation back. Where house to house inquiries have been made, it has been found that the average villager eats more food and has a better house than his father; that to a considerable extent, brass or other metal vessels have taken the place of the coarse earthenware vessels of earlier times; and that his family possess more clothes than formerly. There are exceptional districts, like North Behar, where the rural population is extraordinarily dense, or parts of the Deccan, where the soil is extremely poor, and the rainfall is very precarious; in such tracts the condition of the landless labourers is still deplorably low. There are other exceptional tracts, such as Lower Burma, Assam, Malabar, Canara, the Himalayan districts, and a great part of Eastern Bengal, where the population is sparse or not too dense, where the soil is rich, where the rainfall is always abundant, and where good markets are at hand; in such tracts wages rule high, work and food are abundant, there is a comparatively high scale of living, and there is little or no real poverty. The greater part of India lies between these exceptional extremes, and, on the whole, the standard of comfort in an average Indian villager's household is better than it was fifty years ago. It is quite certain that the population of India absorb and hoard far more of the precious metals than they did formerly, for during the past fifty years India's net absorption of gold and silver from outside has amounted to the equivalent of 6303 millions of rupees, or an average of 126 millions a year, while during the 22 years ending with 1857 the net absorption of the precious metals by India averaged only 32 millions a year.

49. *Condition of different classes.*—The population, for the purpose of the present paragraph, may be roughly divided into—

The landowning class.
The trading class.
The professional class.
The tenant or ryot class.
The labouring class.

The landowning class includes not only the great zemindars of Bengal and Oudh, who with their families and retainers live on the rent of the land, but it includes tens of millions belonging to the proprietary brotherhoods of northern India, to the petty proprietors holding their lands directly from the State in Madras, Bombay, Burma, Assam, and Berar, and to the tenure holders of Eastern Bengal. All these classes are undoubtedly better off than they were fifty years ago, for the profits of agriculture are larger owing to the rise in prices and the export demand for surplus produce. In every province the market price of land has advanced; and in many parts land fetches now three to ten times the price per acre that it did fifty years ago.

The trading classes are, on the whole, better off by reason of the greatly increased commerce of the country, though the percentage of profit on transactions and the interest upon money are lower than they were. Great fortunes are less easily made in trade and money lending than they were fifty years back, but a larger number of traders make a fair living by commerce.

Among the professional classes, lawyers and soldiers enjoy better incomes than they used to do; the salaries of Indians in the service of Government average higher than they formerly did. But present times are not favourable for the priestly castes, students of Moslem or Hindu lore, broken down gentlefolk, scions of decayed old families, and others who, from religious sentiments or caste feeling, are unable to accommodate themselves to the changing order of things.

The tenant or ryot class in all provinces enjoy some share, and in some provinces have obtained a considerable share, in the increased profits of agriculture. In tracts where the system of petty proprietors obtains, the tenants are few, and nearly as well off as the small landowners. In Eastern and Central Bengal the ryots are well off. In the Central Provinces, where tenant-right is exceptionally strong, the ryots are mostly in good circumstances. But in Behar, in part of the Agra Province, and in Oudh, tenant-right is weak, or has been but recently placed on a firm footing; the population is dense, holdings are small, and many of the ryots are in poor circumstances. They and their families earn something in good years by labour outside their holdings, and when the season is favourable they live fairly well. A ryot with the tenant-right under the law can generally get credit in a year of short harvest. But in a famine year many of the ryots in these last-named tracts must and do break down. The first people to suffer in time of scarcity, and even to starve, if State relief does not reach them, are the old and helpless folk who in ordinary years live on the alms of the small ryots and of labourers.

The labouring classes, who have no beneficial interest in the land, are in India a smaller section of the people than they are in England. Still out of the total Indian population of 294 millions there are a vast number of labourers, and their condition is most important to the prosperity of the country. The wages of skilled labour, and the amount of skilled labour finding employment, have greatly increased. The standard of wages for unskilled labour has also advanced, though not to the same extent. The price of food has risen, and the rise during the last few years has been marked, and has excited a good deal of feeling. There have been and are hard times for hand weavers and such like handicraftsmen, whose employment is reduced by the competition of machine made goods. The landless labourers in the thickly populated rural tracts, remote from railways or new industries, live poorly now, as they have done in generations past; and their wages or earnings are in some districts still very small. In ordinary years, when the harvests are moderately good, even the landless labourers as a class get enough to eat, though individuals from accident, infirmity, or idleness, may suffer; but people of this class have no savings, and cannot get credit, so they suffer in seasons of scarcity when employment in the fields is scanty. In parts of the Ganges valley the pressure of the population, which is entirely agricultural, is too great for the land to bear. The people of India have a great dislike to leaving their homes. The census shows that nine-tenths of the population are resident in the districts in which they were born, and of the remaining one-tenth the great majority are settled within easy reach of their native districts. Emigration beyond the seas to distant countries is a negligible quantity as regards its effect on the population. There is considerable migration from the maritime provinces to Burma, Ceylon, and the Straits, for the purpose of labour, but most of the emigrants return after one or two years. Migration also proceeds from the inland districts to the tea gardens of Assam, and to the industrial centres where the demand for labour for factories and coal mining is nearly always greater than the supply. There is still plenty of good land available for settlers in Burma, the Central Provinces, and Assam. The south-western districts of the Punjab, until lately untilled, will support a large agricultural population on the completion of the canal irrigation schemes in progress, and already have sensibly relieved the pressure of population in other parts of the province. The striking success of these irrigation colonies, and the avidity with which land is taken up there by incomers from a distance, show that the traditional immobility of the Indian peasant can be overcome, if the prospect is sufficiently assured, and the new sphere of work congenial.

50. *Condition of the Poorer Classes as evidenced by recent Famines.*—The severe and wide-spread droughts which periodically afflict India

affect in a special degree the poorest classes, who are then exposed to the double strain of a falling labour market and high prices. It is for such seasons that the elaborate system of famine relief, which will elsewhere be described, is reserved, and it is then that the condition of these classes comes most closely under observation. If, as sometimes happens, one drought is followed by a second after a few years, a comparison can be instituted as to the degree of resisting power shown by these classes on the two occasions, and an inference drawn as to whether their condition has improved or deteriorated in the interval. In 1896 and again in 1907 the United Provinces experienced a severe drought. The Central Provinces were similarly affected in 1896, 1899 and 1907. The reports of the local Governments on the famine-relief operations of 1907-08 institute a valuable comparison, which leads to the conclusion that of late years the condition of the poorest classes in these two provinces has sensibly improved.

The report for the United Provinces after mentioning that a nine months food supply for the whole province, representing a value of 28,000,000*l.*, besides 10,000,000*l.* of non-food crops, were lost by the drought of 1907, and that it was as intense and extensive as the drought of 1896, proceeds as follows:—

> "The previous famine was to a great extent a labourers' famine; in the present year the labouring population did not resort in large numbers to relief works except in the very severely affected districts. . . . . The difference between the two years is not entirely explainable by this or by the greater severity of the earlier famine. It points to the fact, which seems beyond dispute, that the position of the labouring classes has improved in the last decade, as is clearly illustrated by the later section of this resolution on the subject of wages of labour. As regards the cultivating classes, even in the previous famine they were seldom compelled to resort to relief works: the pressure of the famine upon these classes was chiefly manifested by the greater extent to which they themselves and their families were compelled to perform field work for which they would ordinarily have employed hired labour. Within the last ten years their position has been further strengthened by the constantly increasing facilities of transport and the high prices obtainable for agricultural produce. An interesting comment on this point is afforded by a missionary in Ghazipur, who writes from personal experience that in 1877 people were dying there of starvation with common rice selling at 9¼ sers (19 lbs.), while this year there were no signs of serious distress with the same grain selling at 5¼ sers (10¾ lbs.) to the rupee. The Famine Commission of 1880 noticed that the price of ordinary grain in this province in the famine of 1877-78 did not rise above 26 lbs. for the rupee. It is not too much to say that had prices been the same this year as they were 30 years ago, there would have been no need for relief over the greater part of the area in which famine operations have recently been closed."
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> "Although prices have been exceptionally high for several years, the rise has been accompanied by a marked increase in the wages of labour, with the result that the higher price of food does not affect the ordinary labourer so long as he can obtain employment. The amount of employment available has simultaneously increased very considerably by reason of the large expenditure by Government on public works, railways and canals and the industrial and building operations of the general public. The Director of Land Records and Agriculture has collected information of the wages paid in all rural tracts between October and December 1907, and has compared them with the results of the wage census taken on the same lines in 1906. His conclusions are that the commonest rates of wages paid in the later period were nowhere below, and were in most cases above, those recorded at the wages census. Moreover, wages below the commonest rates were paid much less often than in 1906, whereas wages above the prevailing rates were paid on a considerably greater scale than in 1906, and rates hitherto unknown were paid in some localities. Taking the combined results of these conclusions he estimates that the average wage of the province has increased in the period by two or possibly three pice for each day's work. A labourer, therefore, who in 1906 spent 1½ annas on food, could in the autumn of 1907 spend two annas on food without curtailing his other expenditure; so that he could get the same amount of food as before if prices were 33⅓ per cent. above the level of prices in 1906 (itself above normal)."
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> "In the large cities the rise has been even greater than in the rural tracts. In Agra, for instance, men engaged as ordinary diggers earned, in 1900, 2 annas a day, and women seldom received more than 1 anna 3 pies. At the present time the rate of wages for this kind of work is four annas for men, and 2 annas to 2 annas 6 pies for women. Masons and stone-cutters who in 1900 earned 3 annas 6 pies daily now receive from 5 to 7 annas. In the same period the pay of such classes as gardeners, water-carriers and sweepers has approximately doubled."

The report for the Central Provinces contains the following remarks on the subject:—

> "Every year since 1900 has witnessed an extension of the area occupied for cultivation, and there has been no year at the close of which it could be said that the prosperity of the cultivating classes had not advanced. In no parts of the provinces has progress been more rapid than in the cotton tracts. Cotton thrives best with a light rainfall,

and years of short rainfall have induced cultivators to devote increased attention to the crop. Its cultivation has also been greatly stimulated by the high prices obtainable for the fibre, and a large export demand for the seed. The value of land has risen everywhere, and the demand for it is extraordinarily keen in the cotton country. . . . . The prices for agricultural produce have generally been high since the famines. In 1903–04, owing to the excellent harvests reaped in these provinces and in Northern India, they receded to a point somewhat below those of the normal period preceding the first famine; but subsequently the poorness of the seasons brought them back to a higher level, from which they have shown no tendency to recede, and the good harvests reaped in these provinces during the year immediately preceding the recent scarcity must have brought large sums into the pockets of the cultivating classes. Along with this improvement in their material resources, there has been a distinct advance in the direction of agricultural improvement.

"Substantial as has been the improvement in the condition of the landholder it has been even more remarkable in the case of the labourer, whether he works on the farm, or seeks employment in the towns. If cultivators have anything new to complain of, it is the dearth of labour, and the absorption of a large part of their extra profits in the increased rates of wages that they are compelled to pay. Generally unthrifty, the labouring classes are the first to succumb when times are hard for all, and the famines left their numbers seriously depleted. Since then the cry has been for workers rather than for work. Agriculture itself has steadily increased its demands, but has felt itself obliged to compete with the still more rapidly increasing requirements of commerce, and it is no exaggeration to say that the labourer has been in a position to dictate his own terms. . . . . There has been a general rise in the standard of wages, and the rise is more than proportionate to the rise in prices which has necessitated it. The labourer has never been in better case."

The United Provinces and the Central Provinces contain 60 million people and are fairly representative of the conditions of British India as a whole.

51. *Famine.*—Against famine, the greatest of all troubles that befall the population of India, the country is more fitted to contend than it was fifty years ago. Over many tracts of India the rainfall is occasionally short or unseasonable and sometimes it fails altogether. Such a disaster causes loss of harvests and scarcity of food deepening sometimes into famine. Happily drought or famine never afflicts the whole of India at once, and prosperous provinces always have surplus food to spare for their suffering neighbours. Under native rule famines were very frequent and frightful when they came. There was little thought for, and no effectual means of, remedial action. Famine smitten areas could not be relieved by importation of food from prosperous tracts. The mortality was often terrible, and the country would lie desolate for years. Famines have been frequent under British rule, but they are less destructive and their effect less permanent. During the past fifty years there have occurred the Northern India drought of 1860, the Orissa famine of 1866, the Bengal famine of 1874, the great famine of Southern India in 1877; and in more recent times, after a nineteen years' cycle of comparatively regular rainfall, the great droughts of 1896, 1899 and 1907.

In the earlier famines in this list, relief was insufficient and imperfectly organized. No famine code had been inherited from native rule. The principles on which relief should proceed were not at first clearly understood, and though the humane policy of saving life was accepted, its execution was impeded by defective communications and failure of local supplies of food. These impediments no longer exist. An Indian famine is now mainly a problem of extemporising work for the able-bodied and providing gratuitous relief for those incapable of work. By timely arrangements and the liberal expenditure of public money, a drought, however intense, can now be combatted without disturbance of ordinary public business and with a great measure of success.

Every province has now its plans of relief organisation and relief works thought out and sanctioned beforehand. Everywhere the urban and village organisation is stronger than it was. The crop area securely protected from drought by irrigation is three-fold what it was in 1857. Railways have revolutionised relief. Absolute dearth of food is now unknown. Private trade pours in food wherever it is required. In the drought of 1899–1900, which extended over an area of 175,000 square miles with a population of 25,000,000, the railways carried 2½ million tons of grain into the affected tracts. Not one-tenth of this quantity could have reached these districts, or could have been distributed in time, with the means of communication which existed in 1857. Without this outside supply of food, and

without the great organisation specially provided for relieving the starving and the sick, the distress and excess mortality would have been far greater than actually occurred.

As illustrating the comparative ease with which an intense drought is now surmounted, another citation may be made from the report on the famine relief operations of 1907–08 in the United Provinces. "There was" it is stated, "no organised movement of the population from the distressed areas "in search of work, no considerable emigration to or immigration from Native "States, and, in fact, no noticeable wandering at all. The slight extent to "which poor house relief was required, and the very small number of casual "wanderers relieved by the police, afford a striking confirmation both of the "effectiveness with which gratuitous relief was administered and of the small "disturbance which the famine caused in the ordinary conditions of the life of "the people. The death rate, though higher than in an ordinary year, was "far from excessive considering the extent and severity of the scarcity which "prevailed; the ravages of epidemic disease and the mortality indirectly due "to scarcity were minimised to an extent unprecedented in seasons of similar "distress, while deaths directly due to starvation were almost unknown."

Notwithstanding all that has been done to prevent or mitigate the effects of drought, there are natural limits to the completeness of preventive measures. There are tracts which cannot be protected by irrigation works, and even in the most favourably situated tract protection is at best partial and does not extend to every field. To meet the demands of relief and of preventive measures the Government of India set aside in the budget not less than 1,000,000*l.* annually for "Famine Relief and Insurance." When famine or scarcity comes, expenditure on relief is not restricted to this sum. The only limit then recognised is the need of the distressed population. In years when the annual famine grant is not required for relief, the money is spent on famine preventive works in tracts especially exposed to drought; or used, instead of borrowed money, for the capital requirements of State railways and canals. In this way permanent assets are created in non-famine years as a set-off against debts incurred on relief in famine years.

Local Self Government.

52. *Municipalities.*—Before the mutiny era, local committees had been formed in the districts of some provinces, and in parts of India the town panchayets (councils of five elders) still survived. But these bodies were consultative only. The members were nominated by the Government, and the final control of local affairs, town improvements, district roads, public schools, hospitals, and port improvements was entirely in the hands of Government officials. Since 1860 a comprehensive system of municipal government has been created. Laws have been passed for every province of India, under which urban affairs are placed in the hands of local bodies, partly elected by and partly nominated from among the townsfolk. In the municipalities as a whole about half the members are elected: the rest are nominated by the Government. The tendency is to extend the elective principle, so far as is consistent with efficient administration and the due representation of the different classes of the community. The municipal bodies, subject to the law and the general control of the Government, raise funds or receive grants of public money for local purposes. They are responsible for the sanitary improvement, the hospitals, the streets, the lighting, the schools, and, in fact, for all local affairs in their towns. Except in the larger towns, municipal elections are not keenly contested. But a seat on a municipal board is highly esteemed as an honourable and useful post, though it carries no emoluments and much responsibility.

There are now in India 746 municipal towns, containing a population of 16 millions. In 1907–08 the revenues controlled by municipalities amounted to 3,910,000*l.* But 40 per cent. of this sum was provided by Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Rangoon. Many of the towns are quite small and have very small incomes. Everywhere the sanitary work to be done transcends the means of the local authorities. But in some of the larger towns a great reduction has been effected in the death rate as it existed 30 or 40 years ago.

A very considerable start has been made in local self-help and self-government, and considerable local interest has been evoked in local affairs. The law provides that, in case of great neglect or mismanagement, the Government may intervene and take specific local matters out of the hands of the municipal body, but the extreme step of actual intervention is rarely taken. The Government and its officers habitually afford help, advice, control, and even admonition to any municipal bodies that may seek or require such aid.

53. *District Boards.*—The local boards, to which is committed the duty of self-government in rural tracts, are, as representative institutions, the creation of the last 25 years. In all the larger provinces, with the exception of Burma, there is a district board in each district, with or without subordinate boards for sub-districts, and to these boards have been transferred the management and expenditure of all public funds available or raised for district roads, schools, hospitals, and sanitary improvement.

In the Madras Presidency the chain of local authorities is most complete. The primary authority is a "union" or parish, consisting of an important village or group of villages, each controlled by a small council of residents. The union has power to levy a light tax on houses, mainly for sanitary purposes. Next come the sub-divisional boards, which roughly correspond with the "district council" in England. They are the subordinate agents of the district Board, and are entrusted with certain branches of local expenditure. Finally, there is the district board, which may be regarded as the "county council."

In other provinces the "union" has not yet been effectively established, but in time will, no doubt, follow. The degree to which the elective principle has been introduced varies in the different provinces, but generally it may be said that about half the members of the district boards are elected, and the rest nominated by the Government. The aggregate income of the boards in British India in 1907–08 was 3,140,000*l*. It is mainly derived from local rates levied upon agricultural lands over and above the land revenue, supplemented by grants from general revenues. The expenditure is chiefly for roads and bridges, hospitals, vaccination, drainage, water supply, primary education, markets, and rest-houses.

The policy with regard to these boards, as in the connected case of municipalities, is to make them more thoroughly representative and to enlarge their self-governing powers, with a view to enlisting the best energies of the people and familiarising them with the administration of public affairs. It is contemplated to link them, by means of a suitable system of representation, on to the new and enlarged Provincial Legislative Councils which recent legislation has created.

54. *Port Trusts.*—For the management of harbour affairs at the chief seaports trusts have, since 1860, been constituted by law; and on each of these port trusts sit European and Native representatives of the trading and shipping interests, as well as two or three Government officers. The port trusts manage the docks, the harbour lights, the wharves, the pilotage, the port police, and all port affairs; but they cannot borrow money, or impose dues, or undertake great works, without the previous sanction of the Government. The several port trusts have performed their duties to the satisfaction of the trading communities and of the Government. The wharves and docks at Calcutta and Bombay are fully up to the standard of modern requirements; ample wharves have been provided at Rangoon; important harbour improvements have been executed at Karachi, and harbour works at Madras. Meanwhile, the port and harbour charges are almost everywhere much lower than they were; at some ports they are less than half what they were when the trusts were first constituted; and the works executed from borrowed money yield a net revenue which suffices to meet the interest on the capital, and to pay off the capital itself within a moderate term of years.

Political Relations and Native States.

56. *Political Relations.*—In 1857 India had political relations with Ava, Afghanistan, Tibet, Siam, Turkish Arabia, and Persia, and the frontier States of Nepal and Bhutan. With Nepal these relations have remained undisturbed

109121

and been marked with increasing cordiality. With the other States there have been troubles more or less serious, such as inevitably occur in intercourse with oriental states that are peculiarly liable to internal revolution or decay, and are also exposed to the external pressure of contiguous European powers. In 1864 the ill-treatment of a British envoy by the ruler of Bhutan brought on hostilities which led in the following year to a treaty of "peace and friendship," with the result that our relations with the Durbar are now entirely amicable. In 1878 the dubious attitude of the Amir of Afghanistan at a time of exceptional tension between Great Britain and Russia led to the third Afghan war, the establishment of a new ruler on the Cabul throne, and the conclusion of treaty engagements between him and the British Indian Government. These have since been consolidated by friendly visits of the late and present Amir to India, by supplementary provisions and boundary demarcations, and by diplomatic understandings between Russia and England. In 1885 prolonged unfriendliness and breach of treaty on the part of the King of Ava brought on the third Burmese war and resulted in the incorporation of his kingdom in British Burma. With Tibet, a vassal of the Chinese Empire, relations, political and commercial, have been scanty and unsatisfactory. In 1888 encroachments by the Tibetans in Sikkim made it necessary to expel them by force from the places they occupied; and in 1890 a Convention was concluded with China, regulating the relations of the British and Tibetan Governments. Persistent failure on the part of the Tibetans to observe the provisions of this Convention and of the trade regulations of 1893, led to the despatch of a Mission to Lhasa in 1904, and to the conclusion of the Conventions of the 7th September 1904 with the Tibetan Government and of the 27th April 1906 with China. With Siam, Turkish Arabia, and Persia, questions of boundaries, commercial privileges, and spheres of influence have at times been provocative of controversy with France, Turkey, and Russia respectively, but have been found capable of adjustment. To this end the comprehensive conventions made by the British Government with France and Russia in 1904 and 1907 have greatly contributed. Generally speaking the relations of India with its neighbours are at the end of the half century in a more satisfactory condition than at the beginning. They are better defined, more scrupulously respected, and more firmly based on mutual good will and the perception of common advantages.

57. *Native States.*—The condition of the feudatory states in India has greatly improved, and their relations with the British Government have been placed on a firmer footing during the past fifty years. Soon after the mutiny documents were given in the Queen's name to all of the leading princes ruling their territories, whereby they were granted power to adopt heirs and successors, on condition of loyalty to the British Government. By these grants a grave cause of anxiety was removed from the minds of the Chiefs, who in previous years had seen Hindu States lapse to the British Government on the failure of direct heirs to the throne. It has also been made manifest in more than one case that, when reigning Chiefs had to be removed for scandalous misgovernment or for grave crimes, their countries were not annexed, but new rulers of the old families were placed by the British Government on the vacant thrones. The rendition of Mysore to a native prince, after fifty years of British administration, showed that no Native State would be annexed to British India so long as, in the words of Lord Canning, it was not guilty of "disloyalty or flagrant breach of engagement" to the protecting power.

Almost all the great Chiefs had adhered loyally to the British during the mutiny crisis; but after 1860 no misgivings as to the intentions of Government were any longer possible. Since that time the Chiefs have cordially co-operated with the British Government in placing the administration of the salt tax and the opium duty on an improved footing; they have, in many States, acted on the advice and example of the paramount Power, by abolishing transit duties, by improving their judicial and revenue administration, by maintaining order, by constructing roads, railways, and irrigation works, by promoting education, by establishing hospitals, and by coming to the relief of their subjects in the grievous droughts which have visited India of late years. In all the more important States and in many

of the minor States the cause of good government has made great advances. In not a few States in Rajputana, Central India, and Bombay, recent famines have seriously reduced the population, crippled the revenues, and created serious financial embarrassments. But this set-back of prosperity is due to exceptional and temporary causes. Where famine has not interfered, the Chiefs as a rule keep their expenditure within their revenues, which have increased greatly within the past fifty years; some of them have large reserves either in cash or in the securities of the Indian Government; and many of them spend a large share of each year's revenue on works of material improvement. These good results are due in part to the good sense of the Chiefs themselves and of their ministers, but they are also greatly due to the peace secured, the example set, and the advice given by the British Government.

Among the 682 Native States with a total population of over seventy millions, there are some, no doubt, in which the people are overtaxed, in which order is not maintained, and in which the Chiefs live beyond their incomes. In most States also good government and the happiness of the people are still largely a question of the personal qualities of the ruler for the time being. Still, in the main, the protected States of India have made real and steady progress in good government during the last fifty years. Notable proofs of their loyalty to the British Crown were given in 1887, when the great Native States made spontaneous offer of their swords and treasure for the defence of the north-west frontier of India; in 1890, in the formation of the Imperial Service troops; and again at the two Jubilee celebrations of Her late Majesty's reign, on the occasion of Her lamented death, and at the Coronation Durbar of 1903.

Army.

58. *Army.*—At the end of 1856 the Indian Army consisted of 40,000 European soldiers and 215,000 native soldiers, besides 32,000 men in contingents paid by and serving in Native States; at that time a large proportion of the Indian artillery consisted of native gunners. The present army of India consists of 75,751 British troops and a native army of 158,932 troops. The field and horse artillery are now manned by Europeans. The armament of the troops has been changed by successive advances from smooth-bore muskets to breech-loading magazine rifles, and the horse and field artillery are armed with 12½ and 18½-pounder quick-firing guns instead of 6 and 9-pounder smooth-bore muzzle-loaders. Railways have made the concentration of troops within India or on its frontier ten times easier than it was in 1857. Transport and supply services have been organised, factories established for the manufacture of munitions of war, reserves of equipments and stores provided, and all arrangements made for the mobilization at short notice and maintenance in the field of a force of any strength that an emergency might require.

Officers and men, arms and horses, ammunition and *matériel*, commissariat and land transport, barracks and fortifications, all cost more than they did before the mutiny; while, therefore, for the year 1856 the cost of the army in India was 12,700,000*l.*, for the year 1909–10 the estimated net charge is no less than 18,424,000*l.*; there is also a charge of 817,000*l.* for military works, including special defences. The re-armament and military progress of other countries have compelled the Indian Government to increase the efficiency and strength of its army, as well as to augment the defensive works of the country; but within the borders of India the need for troops is less than it was; the peace of the oldest provinces is secured by a moderate garrison—for instance, the two Bengals with a population of 80 millions have a military garrison of 9,700 soldiers, of whom nearly one-third are for the defence of Calcutta. Among the more important changes in army organisation within the past 50 years have been the amalgamation of the Company's European troops with the British army, the reorganisation of the native army, the formation of a unified army for the whole of India in place of the three armies of the Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, the reconstitution of the functions and powers of the Army Department and of the Commander-in-Chief, and the delegation of considerable powers of executive control to General Officers commanding

divisions and brigades. Before the mutiny a regular native regiment had an establishment of officers based on the system obtaining in British regiments, with European company and troop officers and subalterns, while the irregular regiments had from three to four European officers only, with native troop and company commanders. The reorganisation made after the mutiny followed the system of the irregular regiments, and reduced the British officers to six in each regiment, leaving the company and troop commands to native officers. This system is still in force, though the number of British officers has since been largely increased. The proportion of soldiers drawn from unwarlike races has been greatly reduced, while the proportion of Goorkha regiments and of soldiers from the martial races of northern India has been increased. It is not necessary to recite here all the measures taken to promote the efficiency of the Indian army, but it may be mentioned that the health of the troops has been greatly improved by better barrack accommodation, by quartering a far larger proportion of Europeans at hill stations, and by careful sanitary precautions. For many years before the mutiny the average death-rate among European troops in India was 69 per thousand, and among native troops 20 per thousand; during the four years ending 1907 the death-rate has averaged 10 per thousand among European and 7 per thousand among native troops.

The military position of India has been strengthened by the enrolment of 36,200 volunteers of European blood, of whom 31,400 were reported efficient at the end of 1908. The reserve of the native army numbers about 35,700 men, and will be increased gradually to 50,000. The Imperial Service troops, which are maintained for the defence of the Empire by the native Princes of India, number about 18,000, besides six transport corps. These troops are available for Imperial service when placed by the Chiefs at the disposal of the British Government, but otherwise belong absolutely to the States. They have reached a high standard of excellence and have done service in several campaigns.

Conclusion.

59. The Court of Directors claimed in 1858 that their government of India had been "not only one of the purest in intention, but one of the most benevolent "in act, ever known among mankind; that . . . . it had been one of "the most rapidly improving governments of the world." It may fairly be claimed that, during the years of government under the Crown, progress has been more rapid in India than during any previous period of the same length, and that the intentions and actions of the Government have been as much for the benefit of the Indian people as in the time of the Court of Directors. The polity, the progress, and the requirements of India have been investigated by competent critics of many nations, and the general verdict has been that, despite mistakes and shortcomings such as are inseparable from human effort, the administration of India by the Crown has been an earnest and fairly successful attempt to solve political, social, and material problems of much difficulty and complexity. In conclusion, it may be permitted to recite the gracious words of the Proclamation by the King-Emperor, of the 2nd November 1908 to the Princes and Peoples of India:—"Half a century is "but a brief span in your long annals, yet this half century that ends to-day "will stand amid the the floods of your historic ages, a far-shining landmark. "The proclamation of the direct supremacy of the Crown sealed the unity of "Indian Government and opened a new era. The journey was arduous, and "the advance may have sometimes seemed slow; but the incorporation of "many strangely diversified communities, and of some three hundred "millions of the human race, under British guidance and control has "proceeded steadfastly and without pause. We survey our labours of the "past half century with clear gaze and good conscience."

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